



BATHING DURING A LUNAR ECLIPSE.

By courtesy of the artist Mr. Mukul Chandra De.

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SHIVAJI'S NAVY

I

THE expansion of Shivaji's rule across the Western Ghats into the coast-district of Konkan brought him into contact with the maritime Powers of our western sea-board. Chief among these were the Siddis or Abyssinians of Janjira, a rocky island 45 miles south of Bombay, and guarding the mouth of the Rajpuri creek. Half a mile east of it, on the mainland stands the town of Rajpuri, and two miles south-east of the latter is Danda. But these two towns are regarded as one place and formed the head-quarters of the land possessions of the Siddis, covering much of the modern district of Kolaba. From this tract were drawn the revenue and provisions that nourished the government of Janjira.

An Abyssinian colony had settled here early in the 16th century. One of them secured the governorship of Danda-Rajpuri under the Sultans of Ahmadnagar early in the 17th century. But the dissolution of that monarchy and the situation of the district on the extreme frontier of the State beyond the Western Ghats, made it easy for the Siddi to establish himself in practical independence of the central authority, so that, when the partition treaty of 1636 gave the west coast to Bijapur, that Government recognised the Siddi chief as its representative in the district, elevated him to the rank of a *wazir*, and added to his charge the whole sea-board from Nagothna to Bankot, on condition of his protecting Bijapur trade and Mecca pilgrims at sea.

As the Siddis formed a small military aristocracy dominating a vast alien population, their constitution provided for the rule of the ablest, and on the death of a chief not his son but the first officer of the fleet succeeded to the governorship. The Abyssinians were hardy skilful and daring mariners and the most efficient

fighters at sea among the Muslim races, while their courage and energy, joined to coolness and power of command, made them enjoy a high estimation as soldiers and administrators.

The Siddi chief of Janjira maintained an efficient fleet, and throughout the 17th century he was officially recognised as the admiral, at first of Bijapur and latterly of the Mughal empire. There was no native Power on the west coast that could make a stand against him at sea. (*Bomb. Gaz.* xi. 434, 416).

To the owner of Konkan it was essential that the Siddi should be either made an ally or rendered powerless for mischief. Shivaji found that unless he created a strong navy, his foreign trade would be lost, and his subjects on the sea-coast and for some distance inland would remain liable to constant plunder, enslavement, outrage, and slaughter at the will of a band of pirates alien by race, creed and language. The innumerable creeks and navigable rivers of the west-coast, while they naturally fostered the growth of rich ports and trade centres, made it imperatively necessary for their protection that their owner should rule the sea. On the other hand the possession of Danda-Rajpuri and its adjacent district was necessary to the owner of Janjira for his very existence. The political separation of the two made war an economic necessity to him.

II

In 1648 Shivaji had captured the forts of Tala, Ghonsala, and Rairi (or Raigarh), situated in the Siddi's territory, but the latter still held Danda-Rajpuri and much of the neighbouring land. There must have been constant skirmishes between the two Powers thus occupying the eastern and western portions of the Kolaba district, but no record of them has come down to us. The Siddi had too small an army to

defy the regular Maratha forces on land, and he seems to have confined himself to making secret raids and doing petty acts of mischief to Shivaji's villages in that region, as is clear from the Maratha chronicler's description of the Siddi as "an enemy like the mice in a house." (Sabhasad, 67).

Very little activity was probably shown by Yusuf Khan who ruled Janjira from 1642 to 1655.

But his successor Fath Khan was a brave active and able leader. In 1659, when Afzal Khan was advancing against Shivaji from the east with a formidable Bijapuri army, Fath Khan seized the opportunity of trying to recover his own and laid siege to Tala. But, on hearing of the destruction of the Bijapur army (October), he retired in haste. Next year, when Ali Adil Shah II. opened a campaign against Shivaji, who was invested in Panhala fort, Fath Khan renewed his invasion of Konkan. The Kāya Sāmānt of Wari, a loyal vassal of Bijapur, co-operated with the Siddi. After an obstinate battle both the Sāmānt and Bāji Rao Pāsalkar (Shivaji's general) fell in a single combat, and the Marathas retreated to their base. (Sabh. 66. Chit. 66.)*

To retrieve the position, Shivaji next sent a larger force, five to seven thousand strong, under Raghunath Ballal Atre, who forced his way to the sea-coast. The Marathas continued the campaign even during the rains, and after a long siege captured the fort of Danda-Rajpuri (July or August, 1661), and following up their success opened batteries against Janjira itself. But their weakness in artillery defeated their attempt on this sea-girt rock. Hopeless of relief from Bijapur, the Siddi begged for terms from Raghunath and formally ceded Danda-Rajpuri. Thus, no stronghold was left to the Siddi on the mainland.

III

But this peace could not possibly last.

* I have followed Sabhasad in the above order of events. But another Marathi account, followed by Grant Duff (l. 166-167 and 180) gives a different narrative: Shivaji's first Peshwa invades the Siddi's dominion, but is defeated with great slaughter (early 1659)—Raghunath Ballal replaces him in the command—both parties retire for the monsoons—during the time when Shivaji was besieged in Panhala (July 1660) Baji Pasalkar fought the Kai Samant, both being slain—Shiva captures Danda Rajpuri (Aug. 1661).

To the Siddi the loss of the Kolaba territory meant starvation, and, on the other hand, it was Shiva's "lifelong ambition to capture Janjira" and make his hold on the west coast absolutely secure. Hostilities soon broke out again. The Siddis resumed their depredations on the coast, while Shiva battered Janjira every year during the dry season, but without success.

The Maratha gains on the Kolaba coast were now organised into a province, and placed under an able viceroy, Vyan-koji Datto, with a permanent contingent of 5 to 7 thousand men (Sabh. 68). He defeated the Siddis in a great land-battle, totally excluded them from the mainland, improved the defences of Danda-Rajpuri by fortifying a hill that commanded it, and built a chain of forts (such as Birwadi and Lingana) which effectually prevented Siddi depredations in that quarter. At this the Siddis, in order to "fill their stomachs", had to direct their piracy against the villages and ports further south, in the Ratnagiri district, which had now come under Shiva's sway. The Maratha chief, therefore, resolved to create a navy for the protection of his coast and the conquest of Janjira which continued as a thorn in his sides.

IV

The Marathi chronicles speak of Shivaji's fleet as consisting of four hundred vessels of various sizes and classes, such as *ghurabs* (gun boats), *tarandis*, *tārambes*, *gallivats*, *shibars*, *pagars*, *man-chwas*, *babhors*, *tirkatis*, *pals*, and *dubares*.* Their cost is put down vaguely as 5 or 10 lakhs of Rupees. But the English reports never put their number above 160, and usually as 60 only. They were formed into two squadrons (of 200 vessels each, if we accept the Marathi accounts), and commanded by two admirals who bore the titles of *Daria Sarang* (Sea Captain) and *Mai Nayak* (Water Leader).†

* *Ghurabs* are floating batteries or gun-boats carrying two masts and moving slowly. *Gallivats* are vessels constructed for swift sailing. *Shibars* are trading boats, *munchuas* being a stronger kind of trading vessel than *shibars*. (Orme's *Frag.* Sec. 1.) The *machwa* (a round-built two-masted craft of from 3 to 20 tons) and the *shibar* (a large square-sterned, flat-bottomed vessel with 2 masts but no deck) are described in *Bomb. Gaz.* XIII. 345-49.

† *Daria* is Persian for Ocean, and *Maa* is Arabic for water. Sabhasad, 68, speaks of *Dariya Sarang* as a Musalman and of *Mai Nayak* as a Hindu of the Bhandari caste. But a Bombay letter dated 21 Nov.

The numerous creeks on the Bombay coast had developed among many low-caste Hindus of the region (such as the Kolis, Sanghars, Vaghers and the Maratha clan of Angrias) hereditary skill in sea-faring and naval fight. The "Malabar pirates" were a terror even to the English. From them* Shiva recruited his crew, and he afterwards added to them a body of Muslims, notably a discontented Siddi named Misri and Daulat Khan.

Shivaji's navy immediately took to plundering the innocent towns along the coast of Kanara and Goa, and brought to their master vast quantities of booty in the manner of his land-forces. They often fought the Siddi fleet, but the latter retained its supremacy on the whole. We may here record what little is definitely known about Shivaji's mercantile marine. Soon after getting possession of the ports in North Konkan, he began to engage in foreign trade on his own account. Early in 1660 he captured at Rajapur some of the junks of Afzal Khan and turned them to his own use. In February 1663 the English at Surat report that he was fitting out two ships of considerable burden for trading with Mocha (in western Arabia) and loading them at Jetapur, two miles up the Rajapur river, with "goods of considerable value which were by storms or foul weather driven upon his coast." Two years later (12 May, 1665), they write that from each of the eight or nine "most considerable ports in the Deccan" that he possessed, he used to "set out 2 or 3 or more trading vessels yearly to Persia, Basra, Mocha, &c." Again, we learn that in April, 1669, a great storm on the Karwar coast destroyed several of his ships and rice-boats, "one of the ships being very richly laden."

V.

The rise of the Maratha naval power caused anxiety to the Siddis, the English

1670 says "The admiral of the [Maratha] fleet is one *Ventgee Sarungee*, commonly called *Durree Sarungee*." Daulat Khan was an officer distinct from the Dariya Sarang (Rajwade, VIII, 27 and T.S.).

* "The Bhandari [caste of husbandmen] are found in most parts of the Ratnagiri district, but chiefly in the coast villages. They supplied the former pirate chiefs with most of their fighting men. A strong, healthy and fine-looking set of men,.....they are fond of athletic exercises.....and do not differ from the Marathas and Kunbis." (*Bomb. Gaz.*, X, 124.) For the Koli pirates, IX. Pt. 1, 519-529; and the Angrias, I. Pt. 2, 87-88, XI. 145.

merchants, and the Mughal emperor alike. On 26 June, 1664, the Surat factors report that Shiva was fitting out a fleet of 60 frigates for an attack on some unknown quarters, probably "to surprise all junks and vessels belonging to that port and to waylay them on the return from Basra and Persia," or to transport an army up the Cambay creek (Sabarmati) for making a raid on Ahmadabad. At the end of November it was learnt that the fleet had been sent to Batikhola, to co-operate with his army in the invasion of Kanara. The English President describes the Maratha vessels as "pitiful things, so that one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into great danger." In addition to the inferior size and build of their ships, the Marathas on land and sea alike were very weak in artillery and, therefore, powerless against European ships of war.

In February 1665, Shivaji's fleet of 85 frigates* and three large ships conveyed his army to Barselore for the plunder of South Kanara.

He had very early begun to plunder Mughal ships, especially those conveying pilgrims for Mecca from the port of Surat (called *Dar-ul-hajj*, 'the City of Pilgrimage.') The Emperor had no fleet of his own in the Indian Ocean able to cope with the Marathas. Early in 1665 Jai Singh opened his campaign, and, in accordance with his policy of combining all possible enemies against Shivaji, wrote to the Siddi to enter into an alliance with the Mughals. (*Haft Anj.*, Benares MS. 78 a.) Late in the same year, when Jai Singh was about to begin the invasion of Bijapur, he invited these Abyssinians to join the Mughal force, promising them *mansabs*.† By the Treaty of Purandar, the Mughals left the territory of Janjira adjoining Shiva's dominions to Shivaji, if he could conquer it. (*Ibid.*) Shiva also offered to attempt the conquest of Janjira for the Emperor. (*Ibid.*,

* Duff (i. 201 n) suggests that by the term frigates were probably meant small vessels with one mast, from 30 to 150 tons burden, common on the Malabar coast.

† A Siddi Sambal fought on the Mughal side during the invasion of Bijapur in 1666. (A.N. 1012.) The informal connection thus established between the Emperor and the Siddis continued, as we find that during Shivaji's siege of Janjira in 1669, Aurangzib wrote to him commanding him to withdraw from the attempt. (Bombay to Surat, dated 16 Oct. 1669, F. R. Surat, Vol. 105.)

786, But Chit. 107, *Shivadig.* 240, and *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 22, agree that Jai Singh definitely refused to make the Siddis give up Janjira to Shiva.)

VI

In 1669 Shivaji's attack upon Janjira was renewed with great vigour. In the earlier months of the year the hostile armies made almost daily inroads into each other's country and the warfare closed the roads to all peaceful traffic. In October, the Siddi was so very hard pressed and Janjira was in such danger of being starved into surrender that he wrote to the English merchants of his "resolve to hold out to the last and then delivering it up to the Mughal."

The contest came to a crisis next year (1670). Shivaji staked all his resources on the capture of Janjira. Fath Khan, worn out by the incessant struggle, impoverished by the ruin of his subjects, and hopeless of aid from his master at Bijapur, resolved to accept Shiva's offer of a large bribe and rich jagir as the price of Janjira. But his three Abyssinian slaves roused their clansmen on the island against this surrender to an infidel, imprisoned Fath Khan, seized the government, and applied to Adil Shah and the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan for aid. The Mughals readily agreed, and the Siddi fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to that of Delhi, and Siddi Sambal, one of the leaders of the revolution was created imperial admiral with a *mansab* and a *jagir* yielding 3 lakhs of Rupees. His two associates, Siddi Qasim and Siddi Khairiyat, were given the command of Janjira and the land dominions respectively. The Siddi fleet was taken into Mughal service on the same terms as under Bijapur. The general title of Yaqut Khan was conferred on successive Siddi admirals from this time, and the government of Janjira was separated from the admiral's charge and placed under another Siddi, who was regarded as the second leader of the tribe and heir to the admiral's post (K.K. ii. 224).

This revolution of Janjira is said by Khafi Khan to have taken place in January or February 1671.* Shortly before it the Maratha fleet had met with a great re-

verse. In November 1670, Shivaji collected at Nandgaon, 10 miles north of Janjira, 160 small vessels and an army of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot, with full provisions for a siege, large numbers of mining tools (pick-axes, shovels and crow-bars), and victuals for 40 days. Another body of 3,000 soldiers, with a great number of pioneers, was kept "ready to embark and depart with the fleet at a minute's notice." His secret design was to march to Surat by land, where the fleet would join him, and then the fort would be delivered to him on 29th November, as had been secretly agreed upon by its commandant. If he succeeded there, he intended to march on and take Broach also.

But the plan failed. The fleet left Nandgaon on 24th November, passed northwards skirting the Bombay island the next day and Mahim on the 26th. The army under Shivaji marched in the same direction by land. But on the 26th he suddenly turned back and recalled his fleet. He had discovered that the seemingly treacherous qiladar's promise to sell the fort to him was only a trap laid for him. Quickly changing his plan, he turned to an easier and surer prey. Early in December he suddenly burst into Khandesh and Berar and looted them far and wide. During his absence on this raid, his fleet met with a defeat. In passing by Daman, his admiral had captured a large ship of that place worth Rs. 12,000, bound for Surat. The Portuguese retaliated by capturing 12 of his ships and leaving the prizes at Basin went in pursuit of the rest of the Maratha fleet, which, however, fled to Dabhol in safety. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105)

VII

Siddi Qasim (surnamed Yaqut Khan), the new governor of Janjira, "was distinguished among his tribesmen for bravery, care of the peasantry, capacity, and cunning. He busied himself in increasing his fleet and war material, strengthening the defences of his forts and cruising at sea. He used to remain day and night clad in armour, and repeatedly seized

* But the date is evidently wrong. On 4 April 1674, Narayan Shenvi, the English agent, writes from Raigarh to Bombay "I have discoursed with Naraji Pandit concerning the peace you desired, might be concluded with the Siddi Fath Khan." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 88.) This proves (a) that Fath Khan was a Siddi and not an Afghan, and (b) that he was in power in 1674, instead of having been deposed in 1671. Here Khafi Khan is proved by contemporary records to be unreliable. But Siddi Sambal was undoubtedly admiral of the fleet from 1671 onwards.

enemy ships, cut off the heads of many Marathas and sent them to Surat." (K.K., ii. 225.) His crowning achievement was the recovery of Danda-Rajpuri from Shivaji's men. One night in March, 1671, when the Maratha garrison of that fort were absorbed in drinking and celebrating the Spring Carnival (*Holi*), Yaqut Khan secretly arrived at the pier with 40 ships, while Siddi Khairiyat with 500 men made a noisy feint on the land-side. The full strength of the garrison rushed in the latter direction to repel Khairiyat, and Yaqut seized the opportunity to scale the sea-wall. Some of his brave followers were hurled into the sea and some slain, but the rest forced their way into the fort. Just then the powder-magazine exploded, killing the Maratha commandant and several of his men, with a dozen of the assailants. Yaqut promptly raised his battle cry *Khassu! Khassu!* and shouting "My braves, be composed; I am alive and safe," he advanced slaying and binding to the centre of the fort where he joined hands with Khairiyat's party, and the entire place was conquered.

Shiva had been planning the capture of Janjira, and now he had failed to hold even Danda-Rajpuri! It is said that during the night of the surprise, at the moment the powder magazine blew up, Shiva, who was 40 miles away, started from his sleep and exclaimed that some calamity must have befallen Danda-Rajpuri! He was, however, unable to make reprisals immediately, as his army was busy elsewhere, in the Nasik and Baglana districts, where the Mughal Viceroy was pressing him hard. Yaqut, therefore, could easily follow up his success by capturing seven other forts in the neighbourhood. Six of them opened their gates in terror of his prowess after his grand victory at Danda-Rajpuri. The seventh stood a siege for a week and then capitulated on terms, which Yaqut faithlessly violated, enslaving and converting the boys and handsome women, dismissing the old and ugly women, and massacring all the men of the garrison. For some time afterwards the Marathas were forced to stand on the defensive in their own territory. (K.K. ii. 225-228.)

These disasters fully roused Shiva. The recovery of Danda-Rajpuri fort became an absorbing passion, as well as a political necessity, with him. To the end of his life

and throughout the reign of Shambhuji, hostilities continued between the Marathas and the Siddis, intermittently, indecisively, but with great bitterness and fury. Gross cruelty and wanton injury were practised by each side on the captive soldiers and innocent peasantry of the other, and the country became desolate. The economic loss was more keenly felt by the small and poor State of the Abyssinians than by the Marathas, and the Siddis at times begged for peace, but did not succeed, as they were not prepared to accept Shiva's terms of ceding their all to him.

In September 1671, Shivaji sent an ambassador to Bombay to secure the aid of the English in an attack on Danda-Rajpuri. But the President and Council of Surat advised the Bombay factors "not to positively promise him the grenades, mortar-pieces, and ammunition he desires, nor to absolutely deny him, in regard we do not think it convenient to help him against Danda-Rajpuri, which place if it were in his possession would prove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay."

VIII

In the latter part of 1672, Aurangzib sent a fleet of 36 vessels, great and small, from Surat to assist the Siddi of Danda-Rajpuri by causing a diversion by sea. This squadron did Shivaji "great mischief, burning and plundering all his sea-port towns and destroying also above 500 of his vessels" (evidently trading ships). At this time (21 Dec.) Shiva had six small frigates, which he laid up in Bombay harbour in fear of the Mughal armada, and which the English saved from the latter by pretending that they themselves had attached them as compensation for the plunder of their Rajapur factory in 1660. Early in January next, the Mughal fleet visited Bombay after its successful campaign against the Marathas. At this time both Shiva and the Emperor were eagerly courting the naval help of the English in a war with the other. But the foreign traders very wisely maintained their neutrality, though it was a "ticklish business." In the following August, however, the ship *Soleil d' Orient* of the new French East India Company founded by Colbert, arrived at Rajapur and secretly sold 80 guns (mostly small pieces) and 2,000

maunds of lead to Shiva's fleet. [The French gave similar help in November 1679 when they sold him 40 guns for the defence of Panhala.]

The difference between the English and Shivaji was utilised by Reickloff Van Goen, the Dutch commodore, who about March 1673 opened negotiations with the Maratha chief, promising him the help of the entire Dutch fleet (of 22 ships) in retaking Danda-Rajpuri, while Shivaji was to lend 3,000 of his soldiers in a Dutch attempt to conquer Bombay. Shivaji, however, durst not trust the Dutch and continued friendly to the English, though he had by this time spent a vast treasure and incurred the loss of nearly 15,000 men in his vain attempts to recover Danda-Rajpuri.

The Mughal fleet of 30 frigates, commanded by Siddi Sambal, returned from Surat to Danda-Rajpuri, in May 1673, and after passing the south-west monsoon (June-September) there, sailed down the coast, taking many Maratha trading vessels and some ships of war. On 10th October the Muslim fleet entered the Bombay harbour, sent landing parties to the Pen and Nagothna rivers, laid waste the Maratha villages opposite Bombay, and carried off many of the people. These devastations were frequently repeated. But at the end of the month, "some of Shivaji's soldiers [from Raigarh] surprised a parcel of the Siddi's men as they were on shore cutting the standing rice in his country, and destroyed about a hundred of them, carrying away the heads of some of the chiefest unto Shivaji." The great cruelty practised by the Siddis on his subjects and their burning of several small towns in his territory "provoked Shivaji much," and his reprisals were apprehended in the Mughal dominions, especially at Surat.

In February 1674 we learn from an English letter, "The war betwixt the Siddi and Shivaji is carried on but slowly, they being both weary," and the President of Surat was requested by the Siddi "to mediate a peace between them."

IX

Next month (March 1674), however, Siddi Sambal attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan in the Satavli river (i. e. the Muchkundi creek in the Ratnagiri District), both the admirals being wounded and the

two sides losing 100 and 44 men respectively. The Maratha fleet were left victors, and Siddi Sambal withdrew to Harishwar, a port 21 miles south of Janjira. In May Shivaji, who "was resolved to take that castle (Danda-Rajpuri) let it cost him what it will," was reported to be daily sending down more artillery, ammunition, men and money to strengthen his siege troops. In the course of this year he reduced the whole coast of South Konkan from Rajpuri to Bardez near Goa, but not the fort of Danda-Rajpuri.

In September 1675, we read of his making preparations for taking that fort by a land and sea attack. The cruise of the Siddi fleet along Shiva's coast in January and February of this year had proved unsuccessful. But it returned in October with reinforcements, and sailed down the coast to Vingurla, plundering and burning. Maratha squadrons from Gheria (Vijay-durg) and Rajapur took the sea, seeking a fight, but the Siddi escaped to Janjira.

This island had been besieged by Shiva with a great force some months earlier. The neighbouring coast was dotted with his outposts and redoubts, and he also built some floating batteries and made an attempt to throw a mole across the sea from the mainland to the island of Janjira.* The siege was raised at the end of 1675 at the arrival of the fleet under Siddi Sambal; but it was renewed next year with greater vigour than before. The Peshwa Moro Panth was sent with 10,000 men to co-operate with the fleet and the former siege-troops (under Vyan-koji Datto). If we can rely on the puzzling Marathi chronicle, the landing place at Janjira and two gardens (?) outside the fort were stormed and the Siddis were driven to seek refuge in a citadel on a height in the centre of the island. The place was wholly invested.

But the attempt failed. Siddi Qasim arrived with the Mughal fleet, broke the line of investment, infused life into the defence, made counter-attacks, burnt the floating batteries and forced the Marathas to raise the siege (end of December 1676). Janjira was saved "by the blessings of a

* A very confused and obscurely written account of this struggle is given in the Marathi *Shivadigvijay*, pp. 192-196, and also in the Persian MS. *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* (No. 1957 of I. O. L.) which is a mere translation from a Marathi original.

living saint, and the Maharajah's men returned disappointed," as the Marathi chronicler puts it. (*Shiva-digvijay*, 195.)

X

The rest of the struggle with the Siddis is given below in a summary form, on the basis of Orme's narrative compiled from the English factory records, which I have supplemented by a reference to some additional records in the India Office, London.

In May 1676, Siddi Sambal who had quarrelled with the Mughal government was dismissed and his post of Imperial Admiral was given to Siddi Qasim, with the governorship of Danda-Rajpuri. Qasim halted at Bombay on his way to his new headquarters. But Sambal delayed handing over the fleet to his successor. He cruised along Shivaji's coast (in October) burning Jetapur (at the mouth of the Rajapur river) in December, but was prevented from advancing further inland and returned to Janjira, where Qasim had already raised the Maratha siege under Moro Pant.

Early in 1677 strict orders came from Delhi that the fleet must be delivered to Qasim. But Sambal put off obeying the order for many months, till the rival Siddi admirals who were living in Bombay came to blows, and finally through the mediation of the English council the quarrel was settled, and Qasim was installed as admiral, at the end of October. Sambal, in disgust transferred his services to Shiva, carrying his family and personal retainers with himself, the most notable among them being his gallant nephew Siddi Misri.

Qasim left Bombay with the fleet in November and up to March next cruised off the Konkan coast, making frequent landings and kidnapping the people, all of whom (including the Brahman prisoners) he forced to do impure menial services. In April 1678 he returned to Bombay to rest during the monsoons. Shivaji, wishing to avenge the degradation of Brahmans, sent his admirals Daulat Khan and Daria Sarang with 4000 men to Panwel, a town opposite Bombay (July) with orders to cross the creek and burn the Siddi fleet then anchored at Mazagon in Bombay island. But insufficiency of boats and the violence of the monsoon prevented the army from crossing, and Daulat Khan, after vainly pressing the Portuguese to allow him a passage

through their territory, retired to Raigarh. Siddi Qasim sent his boats and plundered the Alibagh coast.

In October 1678, Daulat Khan was sent with a large army and a mightier train of artillery than before to renew the bombardment of Janjira; but Siddi Qasim could not pay his men for want of remittance from Surat, and had to continue inactive in Bombay harbour.

Shivaji's navy had by this time been increased to 20 two-mast *ghurabs* and 40 gallivats. "None of his harbours admitted ships of a great size, such as were used at Surat, or by the Europeans. The [immense] traffic from port to port of the Malabar and Konkon coasts had from time immemorial been carried on in vessels of shallow burden-capable of taking close refuge under every shelter of the land. The vessels for fight [on] these coasts were" also built of the same small size, "and trusted to the superiority of number (and not of gun-power or sea-worthiness) against ships of burden in the open sea. Shivaji did not change this system in his own marine." (*Orme's Fragments*, 77-78).

In February 1680, Qasim sallying from his anchorage in Bombay harbour burnt many villages on the Pen river and brought away a thousand captives. Then Shiva and the English made an agreement (March) not to let the Siddi fleet winter in Bombay unless they promised to observe strict neutrality. This brings the narrative down to the death of Shivaji, but the same wearisome story of abortive attacks on Janjira by the Marathas and cruel devastation of the coast districts by the Siddis continued under Shambhuji.

XI

The difficulty of capturing Janjira set Shiva thinking of some other island in the neighbourhood which would afford him a naval base. His choice fell on Khanderi ('Kennery') a small rocky island, 1½ miles by ½ mile, situated 11 miles south of Bombay and 30 miles north of Janjira. As early as April 1672 the people of Surat learnt of his intention to build a fort on the island. The English President at once decided to prevent it, as affecting the interests of Bombay even more than those of Surat, because no ship could enter or issue from Bombay harbour without being seen from Khanderi.

The progress of the Maratha engineers

was very slow, and in September next their fortifications were still incomplete. The English and Siddi fleets came there in concert and warned the Marathas to stop their work. Shivaji's admirals, Daulat Khan and Mai Nayak, finding themselves opposed to very superior forces, withdrew from the island.

At the end of August 1679, Shiva again took up the project of fortifying Khanderi, and collected men and materials for the purpose at Chaul. On 15th September we find that 150 men of Shiva with four small guns under command of Mai Nayak are already on the island and have run up breast-works of earth and stone all around it. A request from the Deputy Governor of Bombay "to quit the place as it belonged to the island of Bombay," was declined by the Marathas in the absence of orders from Shivaji to that effect. The English, therefore, resolved that if the occupation of the island was persisted in and the Maratha fleet under Daulat Khan came there to protect the fortifications, they would "repel them with force as an open and public enemy."

The encounter* took place on 18th October, 1679. At daybreak the entire Maratha fleet of more than 60 vessels under Daulat Khan, suddenly bore down upon the small English squadron consisting of the *Revenge* frigate, 2 *ghurabs* of two-masts each, 3 *Shibars* and 2 *munchuas*,—eight vessels in all with 200 European soldiers on board, in addition to the *lazzars* and white sailors. The Marathas advanced from the shore a little north of Chaul, moving so fast that the English vessels at anchor near Khanderi had scarcely time to get under weigh. In less than half an hour the *Dover*, one of the English *ghurabs*, with Sergeant Mauleverer and some English soldiers† on board, with great cowardice struck its colours

and was carried off by the Marathas. The other *ghurab* kept aloof, and the five smaller vessels ran away, leaving the *Revenge* alone in the midst of the enemy. But she fought gallantly and sank five of the Maratha gallivats, at which their whole fleet fled to the bar of Nagothna, pursued by the *Revenge*. Two days afterwards the Maratha fleet issued from the creek, but on the English vessels advancing they fled back. Such is the inefficiency of "mosquito craft" in naval battle with artillery that even fifty slender and open Indian ships were no match for a single large and strongly built English vessel. At the end of November the Siddi fleet of 34 ships joined the English off Khanderi and kept up a daily battery against the island.

But the cost of these operations was heavily felt by the English merchants, who also realised that they could not recruit white soldiers to replace any lost in fight, and therefore could not "long oppose him (Shiva), lest they should imprudently so weaken themselves as not to be able to defend Bombay itself, if he should be exasperated to draw down his army that way." Moreover, during the monsoon storms the English would be forced to withdraw their naval patrol from Khanderi, and then Shiva would "take his opportunity to fortify and store the island, maugre all our designs." So, the Surat Council wisely resolved (25th October), that the English should "honourably withdraw themselves in time," and either settle this difference with Shivaji by means of a friendly mediator, or else throw the burden of opposing him on the Portuguese governor of Basin or on the Siddi, and thus "ease the Hon'ble Company of this great charge." The Surat factory itself was in danger and could spare no European soldier for succouring Bombay.

XII

The reprisal against Bombay feared from Shiva almost came to pass. "Highly exasperated by the defeat of his fleet before Khanderi," he sent 4,000 men to Kalian Bhimri with the intention to land in Bombay by way of Thana. The Portuguese governor of Basin having refused to allow them to pass through his country, the invaders marched to Panwel (a port in their own territory) opposite Trombay island, intending there to em-

* A full description is given in *Bombay Gaz.* xiii. pt. 2, 478. I have followed the *Factory Records* and Orme.

† Surat Consultation, 3 December, 1679: "Sergeant Mauleverer etc., English, taken formerly by Shivaji in the *Ghurab Dover*, being in great want of provisions and all other necessaries.....we having duly considered, and perceiving how cowardly they behaved themselves in the time of engagement, do order them to be stricken out of the muster rolls, but that they may not wholly perish, that some small allowance be made to them for victuals only, if it can be securely conveyed to them [in the Maratha prison]. (*F.R. Surat*, Vol. 4).

bark on seven *shibars* (end of October 1679). The inhabitants of Bombay were terribly alarmed. The Deputy Governor breathed fire, but the President and Council of Surat decided to climb down. On receiving a courteous letter from Shivaji sent by way of Rajapur, they wrote "a civil answer, demonstrating our trouble for the occasion his people have given the English at Bombay to quarrel with him about his fortifying so insignificant a rock as Khanderi, which is not in the least becoming a prince of his eminence and qualifications; and though we have a right to that place, yet, to show the candour of our proceedings, we are willing to forget what is past, and therefore have given instructions to the Deputy Governor of Bombay to treat with such persons as he shall appoint about the present differences." The Deputy Governor was "very much dissatisfied" with this pacific tone and held that a vigorous policy of aggression against Shiva's country and fleet would "give a speedy conclusion to this dispute, to the Hon'ble Company's advantage." But the higher authorities at Surat only repeated their former orders that Bombay should avoid a war with Shiva and "frustrate his designs of fortifying Khanderi either by treaty or by the Siddi's fleet assisting us to oppose him thereon." The two English captains consulted took the same view.

But the hope of hindering the Maratha

fortification of the island without fighting proved futile, and the English ships were withdrawn (January, 1680) from Khanderi, which after "holding out [against the Siddis and the English] to the admiration of all," was freed from enemy vessels by the coming of the monsoons, and remained in Shiva's hands.

But the Siddi occupied Underi ('Henery'), a small island about a mile in circumference, close to Khanderi, with 300 men and 10 large guns and fortified it [January 9, 1680]. Daulat Khan with this fleet came out of the Nagothna river and attacked Underi on two nights, hoping to surprise it, "but the Siddi's watchfulness and good intelligence from Chaul frustrated his design." On 26th January Daulat Khan assaulted the island at three points, ready to land 2000 men and conquer it. But after a four hours' engagement he retreated to Chaul, having lost 4 *ghurabs* and 4 small vessels, 200 men killed, 100 wounded besides prisoners, and himself severely wounded. The Siddi lost only 4 men killed and 7 wounded, but no vessel, out of a fleet of 2 large ships, five three-masted frigates, one ketch and 26 gallivats, with 700 men on board." Underi continued in Siddi hands throughout Shambhuji's reign, and neutralised the Maratha occupation of Khanderi, the two islands bombarding each other.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER XII.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

14.

TO-DAY we are going to Calcutta. Our joys and sorrows, if we merely go on adding to their number, lie heavy on us. Both keeping and accumulating them alike are false. As master of the house I am in an artificial position,—in reality I am a way-farer on the path of life. That is why the Master of the House is getting hurt at every step, and at last there will come the supreme hurt of death.

My union with you, my love, was only of the wayside. It was well, so long as we followed the same road, but it will only hamper us, if we try to preserve it further. We are now leaving its ties behind. We are started on our journey beyond, and it will be enough if we can throw each other a glance, or feel the touch of each other's hands, in passing. After that?—After that, there is the larger world-path, the endless current of universal life.

But how little it is that even you can deprive me of, my love! Whenever I set

my ear to it, I can hear the flute which is playing, its fountain of melody gushing forth from its stop-holes of separation. The immortal draught of the goddess is never exhausted. She sometimes breaks the bowl from which we drink it, only to smile at seeing us so disconsolate over the trifling loss. I will not stay to pick up my broken bowl, but will march forward, albeit with unsatisfied heart.

The Senior Rani came and asked me: "What is the meaning, brother, of all these books being packed up and sent off in box-loads?"

"It only means," I replied, "that I have not yet been able to get over my fondness for them."

"I wish your fondness for some other things would keep as well! Do you mean you are never coming back home?"

"I shall be coming and going, but shall not immure myself here any more."

"Oh indeed! Then just come along to my room and see how many things I have been unable to shake off my fondness for."—With this she took me by the hand and marched me off.

In my sister-in-law's rooms I found numberless boxes and bundles, ready packed. She opened one of the boxes and said: "See, brother, look at all my *pan-making* things. In this bottle I have catechu powder scented with the pollen of screw-pine blossoms. These little tin boxes are all full of different kinds of spices. I have not forgotten my playing cards or draught board either. If you two are over busy, I shall manage to make other friends there, who will give me a game. Do you remember this comb? It was one of the *Swadeshi* combs you brought for me"

"But what is all this for, sister Rani? Why have you been packing up all these things?"

"Do you think I am not going with you?"

"What an extraordinary idea!"

"Don't you be afraid! I am not going there to flirt with you, nor to quarrel with the Junior Rani! One must die sooner or later, and it is just as well to be on the bank of the holy Ganges before it is too late. It is horrible to think of being cremated in your wretched burning-ground here, under that stumpy Banian tree,—that is why I have been refusing to die, and have plagued you for so long."

At last I could hear the true voice of home. The Senior Rani came into our house as its bride, when I was only six years old. We have played together, through the drowsy afternoons, in a corner of the roof-terrace. I have thrown down to her, as she stood below, green *amras* from the tree top, to be sliced into deliciously indigestible *chutnies* with mustard, salt and fragrant herbs. It was my part to gather for her all the forbidden things from the store room, to be used in the marriage celebration of her doll; for, in the penal code of my grand-mother, I alone was exempt from punishment. And I used to be appointed her messenger to my brother, whenever she wanted to coax something special out of him, because he could not resist my importunity. I also remember how, when I suffered under the rigorous regime of the doctors of those days,—who would not allow anything except warm water and sugared cardamum seeds during feverish attacks,—my sister-in-law could not bear my privation and used secretly to bring me delicacies. What a scolding she got one day when she was caught.

And then, as we grew up, our mutual joys and sorrows took on deeper tones of intimacy. How we quarrelled! Sometimes conflicts of worldly interests roused suspicions and jealousies, making breaches in our love; and when the Junior Rani came in between us, these breaches seemed as if they would never be mended. But it always turned out that the healing forces beneath proved more powerful than the wounds on the surface.

In this way a true relationship has grown up between us, from our childhood up till now, and its branching foliage has spread and brooded over every room and verandah and terrace of our great house. When I saw the Senior Rani make ready, with all her belongings, to depart from this house of ours, all the ties that bound us, to their wide-spreading ends, felt the shock.

The reason was clear to me, why she had made up her mind to drift away towards the unknown, cutting asunder all her life-long bonds of daily habit, and of the house itself, which she had never left for a day since she first entered it at the age of nine. And yet it was this real reason which she could not allow to

escape her lips, preferring rather to put forward any other paltry excuse.

She had only this one relationship left in all the world; and the poor, unfortunate, widowed and childless woman had cherished it with all the tenderness hoarded in her heart. How deeply she had felt our proposed separation I never realised so keenly, as when I stood amongst her scattered boxes and bundles.

I could see at once that the little differences she used to have with Bimala, about money matters, did not proceed from my sordid worldliness, but occurred whenever she was made to feel that her claims in regard to this one relationship of her life had been over-ridden, and its ties weakened for her, by the intervention of this other woman from outside. She had been hurt at every turn and yet had not the right to complain.

And Bimala? She also had felt that the Senior Rani's claim over me was not based merely on our social connection, but went much deeper; and she was jealous of these ties between us, reaching back to our childhood.

To-day my heart knocked heavily against the doors of my breast. I sank down upon one of the boxes as I said: "How I should love, sister Rani, to go back to the days when we first met in this old house of ours."

"No, brother dear," she replied with a sigh. "I would not live my life again,—not as a woman. Let what I have had to suffer end with this birth. I could not bear it over again."

I said to her: "The freedom to which we pass through sorrow is greater than the suffering."

"That may be so for you men. Freedom is for you. But we, women, would keep others bound. We would rather remain in bondage ourselves. No, no, brother, you will never get free from our toils. If you needs must spread your wings, you will have to take us with you; we refuse to be left behind. That is why I have gathered together all this weight of luggage. It would never do to allow men to run too light."

"I can feel the weight of your words," I replied laughing, "and if we men do not complain of your burdens, it is because women pay us so handsomely for what they make us carry."

"You carry it," she said, "because it is

made up of many small things. Whichever one you think of rejecting pleads that it is so light. And so, with much lightness we weigh you down . . . When do we start?"

"The train leaves at half past eleven to-night. There will be plenty of time."

"Look here, brother dear, do be good for once and listen to just one word of mine. Take a long nap this afternoon. You know you never get any sleep in the train. You look so pulled down, you might go to pieces any moment. Come along, get through your bath first."

As we went towards my room, Khema, the maid, came up and with an ultra-modest pull at her veil told us, in deprecatingly low tones, that the Police Inspector had arrived with a prisoner and wanted to see the Maharaja.

"Is the Maharaja a thief, or a robber," the Senior Rani flared up, "that he should be set upon in this way by the police. Go and tell the Inspector that the Maharaja is at his bath."

"Let me just go and see what is the matter," I pleaded. "It may be something urgent."

"No, no," my sister-in-law insisted. "Our Junior Rani has been making a heap of cakes last night. I'll send some to the Inspector, to keep him quiet till you're ready." With this, she pushed me into my room and shut the door on me.

I had not the power to resist such tyranny,—so rare is it in this world. Let the Inspector while away the time eating cakes. What if business is somewhat neglected?

The police had been in great form these last few days, arresting now this one, now that. Each day, some innocent person or other would be brought along to enliven the assembly in my sitting room. One more such unfortunate, I supposed, must have been brought in that day. But why should the Inspector alone be regaled with cakes? That would never do!—I thumped vigorously on the door.

My sister-in-law cried out from the passage: "If you are going mad, be quick and pour some water over your head; that will keep you cool!"

"Send down cakes for two," I shouted. "The person who has been brought in as the thief probably deserves them better. Tell the man to give him a good big helping."

15

I hurried through my bath. When I came out, I found Bimal sitting on the floor outside.* Could this be my Bimal of old,—my proud, sensitive Bimal? What favour could she be wanting to beg, seated like this at my door!

As I stopped short, she stood up and said gently, with down-cast eyes: "I would have a word with you."

"Come inside then," I said.

"But are you going out on any particular business?"

"I was, but let that be. I want to hear . . ."

"No, finish your business first. We shall have our talk after you have had your dinner."

I went off to my sitting room, to find the Inspector's plate quite empty. The person he had brought with him, however, was still busy eating.

"Hullo!" I ejaculated in surprise. "You, Amulya?"

"It is I, Sir," said Amulya, with his mouth full of cake. "I've had quite a feast. And if you don't mind, I'll take the rest with me." With this he proceeded to tie up the remaining cakes in his handkerchief.

"What does this mean?" I asked, staring at the Inspector.

The man laughed. "We are no nearer, Sir," he said, "to solving the problem of the thief: rather, the mystery of the theft deepens."

He then produced something tied up in a rag, which, when untied, disclosed a bundle of currency notes. "This, Maharaja," said the Inspector, "is your six thousand rupees!"

"Where was it found?"

"In Amulya Babu's hands. He went last evening to the manager of your Chakua sub-office to tell him that the money had been found. The manager seemed to be in a greater state of trepidation at the recovery than he had been at the robbery. He made out that he was afraid he would be suspected of having made away with the notes and of now concocting a story to avoid being found out. He had asked Amulya to wait, on the pretext of getting him some refreshment, and had come straight over to the

Police Station. However that may be, I rode off at once, kept Amulya with me, and have been busy with him the whole morning. He refuses to tell us where he got the money from. I warned him, he would be kept under restraint till he did so. In that case, he informed me, he would have to lie. Very well, I said, he might do so, if he pleased. Then he stated that he had found the money under a bush. I pointed out to him that it was not quite so easy to lie as all that. Under what bush? Where was the place? Why was he there?—All this would have to be stated as well. 'Don't you worry,' he said, 'there is plenty of time to invent all that?'

"But, Inspector," I said, "why are you badgering a respectable young gentleman in this way?"

"I have no desire to harass him," said the Inspector. "He is not only a gentleman, but the son of Nibaran Babu, my school fellow. Let me tell you, Maharaja, exactly what must have happened. Amulya knows the thief, but wants to shield him by drawing suspicion on himself. That is just the sort of bravado he loves to indulge in."

The Inspector turned to Amulya. "Look here, young man," he said, "I also was eighteen once upon a time, and a student in the Ripon College. I nearly got into gaol trying to rescue a hack driver from a police constable. It was a near shave." Then turning again to me he continued: "Maharaja, the real thief will now probably escape, but I think I can tell you who is at the bottom of it all."

"Who is it, then?" I asked.

"That manager, in collusion with the guard, Kasim."

When the Inspector, having argued out his theory to his own satisfaction, at last departed, I said to Amulya: "If you will tell me who took the money, I promise you no one shall be hurt."

"I did it," said he.

"But how can that be? What about the gang of armed men . . . ?"

"It was I, by myself, alone!"

What Amulya went on to tell me was indeed extraordinary. The manager had just finished his supper in his quarters, and was on the verandah, rinsing out his mouth. The place was somewhat dark. Amulya had a revolver in each pocket, one loaded with blank cartridge, the

* Sitting on the bare floor is a sign of mourning, and so, by association of ideas, of an abject attitude of mind. Tr.

other with ball. He had a mask over his face. He flashed a bull's eye lantern on the manager's face and fired a blank shot. The man swooned away. Some of the guards, who were off duty, came running up, but when Amulya fired another blank shot at them they lost no time in taking cover. Kasim, who was on duty guarding the strong room, came up next, whirling a quarter-staff. This time Amulya aimed a bullet at his leg, and finding himself hit, Kasim collapsed on the floor. Amulya then made the trembling manager, who had come to his senses, accompany him to the strong room, open the safe and deliver up six thousand rupees. Finally he took one of the estate horses and galloped off a few miles, there let the animal loose, and quietly walked up here, to our place.

"What made you do all this Amulya?" I asked.

"There was a grave reason, Maharaja," he replied.

"But why, then, did you try to return the money?"

"Let her come, at whose command I did so. In her presence I shall make a clean breast of it."

"And who may *she* be?"

"My sister, the Junior Rani."

I sent for Bimala. She came hesitatingly, barefoot, with a white shawl over her head. I had never seen my Bimal like this before. She seemed to have wrapped herself in morning light.

Amulya prostrated himself in salutation and took the dust of her feet. Then, as he rose, he said: "Your command has been executed, Sister. The money is returned."

"You have saved me, my little brother," said Bimal.

"With your image in my mind, I have not uttered a single lie," Amulya continued. "My watchword *Bande Mataram* has been cast away at your feet for good. I have also received my reward, your *prasad*, as soon as I came to the palace."

Bimal looked at him blankly, unable to follow his last words. Amulya brought out his handkerchief, and untying it showed her the cakes put away inside. "I did not eat them all," he said. "I have kept these to eat after you have helped me with your own hands."

I could see that I was not wanted here, and left the room. I could only preach

and preach, so I mused, and get my effigy burnt for my pains. I had not yet been able to bring back a single soul from the path of death. They, who have the power, can do so by a mere sign. My words have not that ineffable meaning. I am not a flame, only a black coal which has gone out. I can light no lamp. That is what the story of my life shows,—my row of lamps has remained unlit.

16.

I returned slowly towards the inner apartments. The Senior Rani's room must have been drawing me again. It had become an absolute necessity for me, that day, to feel that this life of mine had been able to strike some true and responsive chord in some other harp of life. Our own existence cannot be realised by remaining shut up within ourselves: it has to be sought outside.

As I passed in front of my sister-in-law's rooms, she came out saying: "I was afraid you would be late again this afternoon. However I ordered your dinner as soon as I heard you coming. It will be served in a minute."

"Meanwhile," I said, "let me take out that money of yours and get it kept ready to take with us."

As we walked on towards my room she asked me if the Inspector had made any report about the robbery. Somehow I did not feel inclined to tell her all the details of how that six thousand had come back. "That's just what all the fuss is about," I said evasively.

When I went into my dressing room and took out my bunch of keys, I did not find the key of the iron safe on the ring. What a careless fellow I was, to be sure! Only this morning I had been opening so many boxes and things, and never noticed that this key was not there.

"What has happened to your key?" she asked me.

I went on fumbling in this pocket and that, but could give her no answer. I hunted in the same place over and over again. It dawned on both of us, that it could not be a case of the key being mislaid. Some one must have taken it off the ring. Who could it be? Who else could have come into this room?

"Don't you worry about it," she said to me. "Get through your dinner first. The Junior Rani, seeing how absent-minded

ed you are getting, must have kept it herself."

But I could not help feeling greatly disturbed. It was never Bimal's habit to take any key of mine without telling me about it. Bimal was not present at my meal time that day: she was busy feasting Amulya in her own room. My sister-in-law wanted to send for her, but I asked her not to do so.

I had just finished my dinner when Bimal came in. I should have preferred not to discuss the matter of the key in the Senior Rani's presence, but as soon as she saw Bimal, she asked her: "Do you know dear, where the key of the safe is?"

"I have it," was the reply.

"Didn't I say so!" exclaimed my sister-in-law triumphantly. "Our Junior Rani pretends not to care about these robberies, but she takes precautions on the sly, all the same."

The look on Bimal's face made my mind misgive me. "Let the key be, now," I said. "I will take out that money in the evening."

"There you go again, putting it off and off," cried the Senior Rani. "Why not take it out and send it to the treasury while you have it in mind?"

"I have taken it out, already," said Bimal.

I was startled.

"Where have you kept it, then?" asked my sister-in-law.

"I have spent it."

"Just listen to her! Whatever did you spend all that money on?"

Bimal made no reply. I asked her nothing further. The Senior Rani seemed about to address some remark to Bimala, but checked herself. "Well that is all right, anyway," she said at length, as she looked towards me. "Just what I used to do with my husband's loose cash. I knew it was no use leaving it with him,—his hundred and one hangers on would be sure to get hold of it. You are much the same, brother dear! What a number of ways you men know of getting through money. We can only save it from you by stealing it ourselves! Come along now. Off with you to bed."

The Senior Rani led me to my room, but I hardly knew where I was going. She sat by my bed after I was stretched on it, and smiled at Bimal as she said: "Give me one of your *pans*, Junior Rani, darling,

—What? You have none? You are a regular mem-sahib! Then send for some from my room."

"But have you had your dinner yet?" I anxiously inquired.

"Oh long ago," she replied,—clearly a fib,—and then she kept on prattling away there, at my bed side, about all manner of things.

The maid came and told Bimal that her dinner had been served and was getting cold, but she gave no sign of having heard it.

"Not had your dinner yet? What nonsense! It's fearfully late." With this the Senior Rani took Bimal away with her.

I could divine that there was some connexion between the taking out of this six thousand and the robbing of the other. But I have no curiosity to learn the nature of it. I shall never ask.

Providence leaves our life moulded in the rough, its object being that we ourselves should put the finishing touches, shaping it into its final form according to our taste. There has always been the hankering within me to express some great idea, in the process of giving shape to my life on the lines suggested by the Creator. In this endeavour I have spent all my days. How severely I have curbed my desires, repressed myself at every step, only the Searcher of the heart knows.

But the difficulty is, that one's life is not solely one's own. He who would create it must do so with the help of his surroundings, or he will fail. So it was my constant dream to draw Bimal to join me in this work of creating myself.

I loved her with all my soul; on the strength of that, I could not but succeed in winning her to my purpose,—that was my firm belief.

Then I discovered that those, who can simply and naturally draw their environment into the process of their self-creation, belong to one species of the genus 'man', and I to another. I had received the vital spark, but could not impart it. Those to whom I have surrendered my all, have taken my all, but not myself with it. Just when I want a helpmate most, I am thrown back on myself and am left alone. Nevertheless, I record my vow that, even in this trial, I shall win through. Alone, then, shall I tread my thorny path to the end of this life's journey. . . .

I have begun to suspect that there has

all along been a vein of tyranny in me. There was a despotism in my desire to mould my relations with Bimala in a hard, clear-cut, perfect form. But man's life was not meant to be cast in a mould. And if we try to shape the Good, as so much mere material, it takes a terrible revenge by losing its life.

I did not realise, all this while, that it must have been this unconscious tyranny of mine, which made us gradually drift apart. Bimala's life, not finding its true level by reason of my pressure from above, has had to seek an outlet by undermining its banks at the bottom. She has had to steal the six thousand rupees because she could not be open with me,—because she felt that, in certain things, I despotically differed from her.

Men, such as I, possessed with one idea, get on well enough with those who can manage to agree with us; but those who do not, can only get on with us by cheating us. It is our unyielding obstinacy, which drives even the simplest to tortuous ways. In trying to manufacture a help-mate, we spoil a wife.

Could I not go back to the beginning? Then, indeed, I should follow the path of the simple. I should not try to fetter my life's companion with my ideas, but play the joyous flutes of my love and say: "Do you love me? Then may you grow true to yourself in the light of your love. Let my ideas be suppressed, let God's design, which is in you, triumph."

But can even Nature's nursing heal the open wound, into which our accumulated differences have broken out? The covering veil, beneath the privacy of which alone nature's silent forces can work, has been torn asunder.—Wounds must be bandaged. Can we not bandage our wound with our love, so that the day may come when its scar will no longer be visible? But is it not too late? So much time has been lost in mistakes; it has taken right up to now to come to an understanding; how much more time will it take for the correcting? What if the wound does eventually heal,—can the devastation it has wrought ever be made good?

There was a slight sound near the door. As I turned over, I saw Bimala's retreating figure through the open doorway. She must have been waiting by the door, hesitating whether to come in or no, and at last have decided to go back. I

jumped up and bounded to the door calling: "Bimal."

She stopped on her way. She had her back to me. I went and took her by the hand and led her into our room. She threw herself face downwards on a pillow, and sobbed and sobbed. I said nothing, but held her hand as I sat by her head.

When her storm of grief had abated she sat up. I tried to draw her to my breast, but she pushed my arms away and knelt at my feet, touching them repeatedly with her head, in obeisance. I hastily drew my feet back, but she clasped them in her arms crying in a choking voice: "No, no, no, you must not take away your feet. Let me do my worship."

I kept still. Who was I to stop her? Was I the god of her worship that I should have qualms?

BIMALA'S STORY.

21.

Come! Now is the time to set sail towards that great confluence, where the river of love meets the sea of worship. In that pure blue, all the weight of its muddiness sinks and disappears.

I now fear nothing,—neither myself, nor anybody else. I have passed through fire. What was inflammable has been burnt to ashes; what is left is deathless. I have dedicated myself at the feet of him, who has received all my sin into the depths of his own pain.

Tonight we go to Calcutta. My inward troubles have so long prevented my looking after my things for the journey. Now let me arrange and pack them.

After a while, I found my husband had come in and was taking a hand in the packing.

"This won't do," I said. "Didn't you promise me you would have a sleep."

"I might have made the promise," he replied, "but my sleep did not, and it was nowhere to be found."

"No, no," I repeated, "this will never do. Lie down for a while, at least."

"But how can you get through all this alone?"

"Of course I can."

"Well you may boast of being able to do without me. But frankly I can't do without you. Even sleep refused to come to me, alone, in that room." Then he set to work again.

But there was an interruption, in the

shape of a servant, who came and said that Sandip Babu had called and had asked to be announced.

I did not dare to ask whom he wanted. The light of the sky seemed suddenly to be shut down, like the leaves of a sensitive plant.

"Come, Bimal," said my husband. "Let us go and hear what Sandip has to tell us. Since he has come back again, after taking his leave, he must have something special to say."

I went, simply because it would have been still more embarrassing to stay. Sandip was staring at a picture on the wall. As we entered he said: "You must be wondering why the fellow has returned. But you know the ghost is never laid till all the rites are complete." With these words he brought out something, tied in his handkerchief, and laying it on the table, undid the knot. It was those sovereigns.

"Don't you mistake me, Nikhil," he said. "You must not imagine that the contagion of your company has suddenly turned me honest. I, Sandip, am not come back, in slobbering repentance, to return ill-gotten money. But . . ."

He left his speech unfinished. After a pause, he remained looking towards my husband, but said to me: "After all these days, Queen Bee, the ghost of compunction has found an entry into my hitherto untroubled conscience. As I have to wrestle with it every night, after my first sleep is over, I cannot call it a phantom of my imagination. There is no escape even for me, till its debt is paid. Into the hands of that spirit, therefore, let me make restitution.—Goddess, from you, alone, of all the world I shall not be able to take anything away. I shall not be rid of you, till I am destitute. Take these back!"

He brought out, at the same time, the jewel casket from under his tunic and put it down, and then left us with hasty steps.

"Listen to me, Sandip," my husband called after him.

"I have not the time, Nikhil," said Sandip, as he paused near the door. "The Mussalmans, I am told, have taken me for an invaluable gem, and are conspiring to loot me and hide me away in their graveyard. But I feel that it is necessary to live. I have just twenty-five minutes to catch the North-bound train. So, for the present, I must be gone. We shall have our talk out at the next convenient opportunity.

If you take my advice, don't you delay in getting away either. I salute you, Queen Bee, Queen of the bleeding hearts, Queen of desolation!"

Sandip then left almost at a run. I stood stock still. I had never realised so vividly, before, how paltry this gold and these jewels were. Only a short while ago, I was so busy thinking what I should take with me, and how I should pack it. Now I felt that there was no need to take anything at all. To set out and go forth was the important thing.

My husband left his seat and came up and took me by the hand. "It is getting late," he said. "There is not much time left to complete our preparations for the journey."

At this point, Chandranath Babu suddenly came in. Finding us both together, he fell back for a moment. Then he said, "Forgive me, my little mother, if I intrude. — Nikhil, the Mussalmans are out of hand. They are looting Harish Kundu's treasury. That does not so much matter. But what is intolerable is the violence that is being done to the women of their house."

"I am off," said my husband.

"What can you do there?" I pleaded, as I clung to his hand.

"Oh, Sir," I appealed to his master. "Will you not tell him not to go?"

"My little mother," he replied, "there is no time to do anything else."

"Don't be alarmed, Bimal," said my husband, as he left us.

When I went to the window, I saw him galloping away on horseback, with not a weapon in his hands.

In another minute the Senior Rani came running in. "What have you done, Junior Rani, darling," she cried. "How could you let him go?"

"Call the Dewan, at once," she said, turning to a servant.

The Ranis never appeared before the Dewan, but the Senior Rani had no thought, that day, for appearances.

"Send a mounted man to bring back the Maharaja, immediately," she ordered, as soon as the Dewan came up.

"We have all entreated him to stay, Rani mother," said the Dewan, "but he refused to turn back."

"Send word to him that the Senior Rani is ill, that she is on her death bed," cried my sister-in-law wildly.

When the Dewan left, she turned on me with a furious outburst. "Oh you witch, you ogress, you could not die yourself, but needs must send him to his death! . . ."

The light of the day began to fade. The sun set behind the feathery foliage of the blossoming *Sajna* tree. I can see every different shade of that sunset even to-day. Two masses of cloud, on either side of the sinking orb, made it look like a great bird with fiery-feathered wings outspread. It seemed to me that this fateful day was taking its flight, to cross the ocean of night.

It became darker and darker. Like the flames of a far-off village on fire, which leap up every now and then above the horizon, a distant din swelled and died away, in recurring waves, into the darkness.

The bells of the evening worship sounded from our temple. I knew the Senior Rani was sitting there, with hands clasped together, in speechless prayer. But I could not move a step from the window.

The roads, the village beyond, the farther fringe of trees, grew more and more vague. The lake in our grounds looked up into the sky with a dull lustre, like a blind man's eye. On the left, the tower seemed to be craning its neck to catch sight of something that was happening.

The sounds of night take on all manner of disguises. A twig snaps, and one thinks that somebody is running for his life. A door slams, and one feels it to be the sudden heart-thump of a startled world.

Lights would suddenly flicker up under the shade of the distant trees, and then go

out again. Horses' hoofs clattered, now and again, only to turn out to be riders leaving the palace gates.

I continually had the feeling that, if only I could die, all this turmoil would come to an end. So long as I was alive my sins would remain rampant, scattering destruction on every side. I remembered the pistol in my box. But my feet refused to leave the window in quest of it. Was I not awaiting my fate?

The gong of the guard solemnly struck ten.

A little later, groups of lights twinkled in the distance and I could make out a crowd winding its way, like some great serpent, along the road in the darkness, towards the palace.

The Dewan rushed to the gate at the sound. Just then an advance rider came galloping in.

"What news, Jata?" asked the Dewan.

"Not good," was the reply.

I could hear these words distinctly from my window. But something was mumbled next which I could not catch.

Then came a palanquin, followed by a litter. The doctor was walking alongside the palanquin.

"What do you think, Doctor?" asked the Dewan.

"Can't say yet," the doctor replied.

"The wound in the head is serious."

"And Amulya Babu?"

"He has a bullet through the heart. He is done for."

THE END.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE LIFE ITSELF

A MEDITATION

BY MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.

"Verily, this is He who, as the Life itself, shines forth in all beings."

THIS truth has been clearly imprinted on our souls, that the highest revelation of God is within. The true light is revealed in the brightness of the human spirit.

The sun and moon and stars and lightning cannot reveal that splendour. The

Stainless and Formless dwells in the bright abode of the spirit of man. He is our innermost and our dearest.

The truth will never grow old (though it may be repeated a thousand times) that God is the heart of our hearts. His brightest revelation is within. He is the Life itself, the essence of the life of all beings.

The man who is pure of heart sees that Supreme One shining in the sky of his inner spirit, as the sun shines in the heaven. He sees the resplendent lustre of that changeless Light. He knows that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for God is the Life itself, deathless and eternal. He slumbers not, nor sleeps. He is awake, for He is the living God,—the life of all the world, the Life of life.

When we meet in our hearts that Supreme One, then alone our worship is fulfilled. When our eyes meet His, our homage is complete. If we do not see Him in our worship, we can give him no obeisance with true adoration, we can offer him no prayers laden with love's tears. We cannot hold converse with a dead body. We cannot find God in a clod of earth, a block of wood or stone. This is our prayer, that we may at all times see His shining presence as the Life itself.

When we come to offer our worship, to spread the flowers of our devotion at His sacred feet, to sing songs to His glory,—if at such times because of our great weakness we cannot see His presence as the Life itself, then that must be our first concern. For if we have not perceived with our own eyes that pure radiance of divine wisdom, how can our thoughts turn to Him and our love expand? Even now, in the light of our own souls, we may see His presence as the Life, for He is the essence of the life of all beings.

Let us not cease then to offer Him the blossoms of our love; for if we have a single-hearted purpose we shall see Him as He is. No sooner do we have the inner longing for God's presence, than He reveals Himself to us. We obtain, in our own hearts, the sight of that perfect and beautiful one, the worshipful and ever-living God, whose dwelling place is the soul.

Our birth-right is glorious. We do not have to go abroad to see Him. We can salute that Holy One within. Dearer to Him than sun and moon, dearer than the flowers of the field or trees of the forest, is the human soul.

The all wise and ever living God pervades all time and space. Every visible thing that is apart from him wears the aspect of death. The endowment of life in all things is from God. He is the centre of consciousness, and through His manifestation consciousness has come to all.

By accepting His reality this world has become real. In the shelter of His endless life man has become deathless. We are the children of the Immortal and have the birth-right to immortality.

So long as we are dependent on the world, we are bound by Death's bondage. The whole world bears the outward form of death, but God is the dwelling-place of immortality. If we are one with Him and He is one with us, then, beyond this transitory world, we can behold the radiant abode of Brahma. Then we can say of our own selves: "They who know this become immortal."

The man that dwells with the ever-living God no longer fears when he sees the hand of Death. He has the unwavering certainty within himself that he will enjoy immortality.

Our spirits, therefore, are God's dwelling place. He is worthy to be worshipped, not with outward rites, but in spirit and in truth. Bliss is ours when we recognise God's presence in our inner spirits.

Men without number have undergone difficulties innumerable and wasted their bodies with austerities, trying to gain God for themselves by external acts, but in vain. And so we find in the scriptures this sacred text: "Whatever a man does, not knowing the Infinite in this world,—whether it be worship or adoration, sacrifice or penance, even for many thousands of years,—it comes to an end."

But there is no limit to our blessedness, if, with a calm and collected mind, we meet the Supreme in our own inner spirit. When, like the sacred *rishis*, we see Him everywhere, when in our own hearts we realise His presence as truth, wisdom and immortality, when our relation to Him is so close and deep that His eyes look into our own, then there is no separation. He is our Father and we are His children, He is our Teacher and we are His disciples, He is our Mother and we are His dearest treasure. We can say with our whole spirit: "Thou art our Father, who takest us across the river of darkness to the farther share."

Thou art our Mother. With an open heart we can offer up the prayer: "Protect us, as a mother protects her children, and give us grace and wisdom."

When we think of the Father who gives us courage, the Teacher who gives us wisdom, the Mother who gives us affec-

tion, then we understand how deep, how close, is our relationship with God. Then we shed tears of love at the thought of His love. We know that He watches over us and loves us.

When this inner consciousness of God becomes interwoven with all our thoughts, we receive a new life. The meaning of things is made clear. The world itself is no longer unreal, we see all things in Him, and Him in all things.

"Verily, He is the Life itself, manifest in all beings."

Just as He watches over us, His eyes are over all. His handiwork is visible in all places,—in the leaves of the trees, in the wings of the birds, in the depths of the ocean, on the heights of the mountains.

In all manifestations of power there are signs of His might. In all works of skill we see His wisdom. In all events His goodness is revealed. In all the universe we see His love. When we suffer, we are sheltered in the arms of the divine Mother. When we are bereft of worldly affection, we are merged in the ocean of His unfathomable love. His wisdom, love and goodness are in all the world.

Ah, what is this that has come upon me, and where am I now? I am neither in heaven nor on earth, but with that Supreme, surrounded with the glory of God. The mind cannot contain such bliss and human words cannot express it.

Translated from the Bengali.

PAINTING IN ANCIENT INDIA *

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

THE art of painting pictures is a very ancient one in India. It is counted as one among the sixty-four *kalās* (arts) which are too well-known to require mention. Vātsyāyana in his famous *Kāmasūtras* states that girls should learn even when they are young the arts of dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, painting, &c.,—the sixty-four *kalās*, so that these might be of use to them in their womanhood¹; and then he enumerates the sixty-four *kalās*. Of these the fourth is the painter's art and is referred to as *ālēkhyam*. The commentator of Vātsyāyana explains the word thus :—

“आलेख्यमिति—रूपभेदाः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम् ।

सादृश्यं वर्णिकाभङ्गः इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥ इति

एतानि परानुरागजननानि आत्मविनोदार्थानि च ।”

Alēkhyā, therefore, consists, according to him, of the six essentials, namely the different subjects taken up for painting, their due proportions, expressions of emo-

tions, beauty, likeness and exact colour. The arts referred to above, including painting, have, it is stated, the high function of exciting the emotions of people as also of affording them amusement. It would be seen from the above that the essentials and functions of painting are identically those which are claimed for it by the Western painters also.

In the next chapter, Vātsyāyana after stating that civilized people should live in *Nagaras*, *Kharvatas* or *Pattanas*, informs us that among a number of articles to be seen in the houses of such civilized persons, there must be a *chitrāphalaka* (a board to paint on) and a *vartikā-samudga*.² *Vartikā-samudga* seems to refer to a colour box with brushes in it.

Kautilya in his *Artha-sāstra* states³ that dancing girls and others should be taught the arts of dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental, and painting at the expense of the State by appointing proper teachers for conveying instructions

* A portion of a chapter on “Mural Decoration” in the author's forthcoming treatise on “*Hindu Architecture from the view point of Hindu Silpa-Sastras*.”

1. अभ्यासप्रयोजनांश्च चातुष्षष्टिकान्योगान्कन्यारदस्यैका-
किनभ्रातृष्वेव ॥ (१. अधि, ६ अ, १४ सू)

2. नागदन्तावसक्ता वीणा चित्रफलकं वर्तिकासमुद्गको यः
कश्चित्पुस्तकः कुरङ्गकमालाश्च ॥

(१. अधि, ४ अ, १० सू.)

3. Kautilya, p. 156 (*Sāma Sāstri's Translation*).

in the several arts. From this statement it becomes patent that the art of painting was encouraged by the State in the 3rd and 2nd centuries before the Christian era. In the *Rāmāyana*, a work of much greater antiquity than the *Arthasāstra*, the city of Lankā is said to have possessed painted halls.⁴ The *Nāṭya-sāstra*, another ancient Sanskrit work, insists upon the walls of the stage, being properly prepared with polished mortar, must be painted with the figures of men and women as also creepers and trees. A very large number of Sanskrit dramas contain references to the art of painting; for instance in the ancient drama the *Swapna Vāsavadattā* attributed to Bhāsa, we are told that a portrait of the heroine Vāsavadattā painted on a board was sent to the king Vatsarāja.⁵ Kālidāsa, the prince of poets in India, describes the hero of the *Mēghasandēsa* as painting with *dhāturāga* the portrait of his sweet-heart who was angry with him.⁶ After having conquered Lankā and having returned to Ayōdhyā, Śrī Rāma found where he used to see his father Dasaratha often⁷ only his portrait. When Kuśa, the son of Rāma transferred his capital to Kuśāvati from Ayōdhyā, the poet describes that, the pictures, in the deserted capital, of the female elephants, which descended down the lotus ponds to pluck lotus stalks to give their male friends to eat, looked so natural that lions mistaking them for real elephants began to attack them.⁸ Again, we learn from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Irāvati entered the *chitra-sālā* which was newly painted and was regaling her sight

with the splendid pictures found in it.⁹ There are innumerable references to painting in the works of the later poets such as Dandin, Bhavabhūti, &c. From all these authors we learn that the surfaces employed for painting were walls, boards and slabs of stones and that the paints were *dhāturāga* as mentioned in the *Silpa-ratna*. Cloth was another substance which was employed to paint pictures on. Elaborate instructions are given to prepare the surface of the cloth for making it fit for laying colours on. Reference is found to the painting on cloth in the *Mudrārākshasa* where *yama-pata* is mentioned. One of the common names of a picture is *pata* and it is evidently derived from the use of cloth employed for the purpose. Mr. Rhys Davids informs us that painting is referred in "the Pali Buddhist canon dating from some three or four centuries before the Christian era..... The Ceylonese Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, composed probably in the fifth century, tells of the mural paintings decorating the relic-chamber or the Ruvanveli *dagoba* constructed by king Dattagāmini about B.C. 150."¹⁰

Mr. V. A. Smith, the author of the *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, laments the dearth of literature in India dealing with painting and the allied subjects sculpture and architecture.¹² Writes he :

"The blank in the history of Hindu painting due to the non-existence of ancient pictures cannot be filled up from literary notices. The Hindus have never taken sufficient interest in art for its own sake to write treatises, practical, historical or critical, on the subject. As already observed, the vast literature of India contain only two passages dealing directly with the history of art, namely Abul Fazl's notices of the introduction of Indo-Persian painting, which will be discussed in chapter XIV, and the remarks recorded in 1608 by Targuath, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism."

The fault is not so much attributable to the ancient Indians, who, it may be paren-

9. चित्रशालां गता देवौ यदाप्रत्ययवर्णरागां चित्रलेखाम्-
आचार्यस्य अवलोकयन्तौ तिष्ठति तस्मिन्नन्तरे
भक्तौपस्थितः ॥

Mālavikāgnimitra.

10. Quoted from Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Arts in India*, p. 273.

12. "The enormous mass of Indian literature, whether in Sanskrit or any other language, does not contain, I believe, a single treatise on the aesthetics of plastic and pictorial art..... Their (the *Silpa-sāstras*) use as guides to aesthetically correct construction and composition is secondary and incidental," P. 8.

4. लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ॥

Rāmāyana.

5. अहय आलोहि तव अ वासवदत्ताय अ पङ्क्तिदि-
चित्तफलदाय आलिहस्य विवाहो निवृत्तो । एसा
चित्तफलदाय तव सभासं पेसिदा ॥

Swapna-Vāsavadattā.

6. त्वामालिख्य प्रथयिष्यामि पातुरागैश्चित्रायाम्
आत्मानं ते वरपणितं यावद्विच्छामि कर्तुम् ॥

Mēghasandēsa.

7. वाष्पायमानो वलिमङ्गिकेतमालिख्यशेषस्य पितुर्विदेश ॥

Raghuvamsa.

8. चित्रदिपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणभिर दत्तसुखालभङ्गाः ।
नद्याङ्गुराघातविभिन्नकुन्धाः संरज्यसिंहप्रहतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghuvamsa.

thetically remarked here, have left behind very masterly treatises on all branches of Fine Arts, nay on all arts known in their time,—treatises, which for their psychological and scientific analysis far excel many a scientific treatise of the modern day. It is the culpable disregard of the modern so-called educated Indian, whose culture is one-sided and whose sense of patriotism has been killed by foreign ideals taught to him, that is responsible for the lack of appreciation of the ancient Indian treatises on art and other subjects; the absence of translations of these valuable works is construed by Europeans, as for instance Mr. V. A. Smith, as indicative of utter absence of written works on several subjects of human interest and necessity.

As has been remarked on several previous occasions by me, the *āgamic* literature is cyclopedic in its contents and painting forms one of the subjects dealt with in it. There are not wanting works on painting, sculpture and architecture in the vast field of Sanskrit literature; the brāhmanas made very accurate study of these subjects and have left behind several remarkable treatises which have till now remained sealed books to even the Sanskrit knowing men, because, they happen to be technical subjects, to understand which a knowledge of the language alone is inadequate, and hence even the Sanskrit knowing people neglected the study of these special branches. The consequence was that the texts became very corrupt and in many places unintelligible. It therefore requires more than one copy of each manuscript to collate from them the correct form of the text. Such a laborious task has been undertaken in the present instant and the technique of the art of painting is attempted in the following pages with the help of the *Amsumadbhedāgama*, the *Silparatna*, and several other minor treatises. What follows may be taken to be practically a translation of the chapter contained in the *Amsumadbhedāgama* and the *Silparatna*.

The word *chitra* implies not painting but sculpture and it is applied only to figures sculptured in the round. Sculpture in half relief is called *chitrārḍha*; whereas pictures painted on well prepared walls &c., which produce on the eyes the effect of solid figures on a plane surface are known as *chitrābhāsa* and it is with this last class we are now immediately concerned. Paint-

ing is defined as the art of depicting all moveable and immoveable objects found in nature in their exact form and in their true colours.

It is enjoined in the *āgamas* that the walls of the houses of private persons, as also those of temples should be adorned with paintings. But in private dwellings figures of gods as described in their *dhyāna-slokas* (*mantra-murtis* as they are called in the original) and happy events narrated in the *Purānas* and *Āgamas* should be painted in proper forms and conveying the various sentiments (*rūpa*, *rasa* and *bhāva*) and in different postures. Pictures of wars (as for example between *devas* and *asuras*), death-scenes and other sad events and figures of naked ascetics (*nagnas*) posing in their freakish attitudes should not be depicted in the houses of private individuals. Pictures painted in due proportions and with proper colours produce happiness both to the painter and the master of the house. (We have to understand by this statement that the prestige of the painter is enhanced by his employer praising the talents of the artist to all his friends and thereby increasing the artist's popularity, and that the beautiful pictures produced by the artist is ever a source of pleasure to the householder). But those executed in an inartistic manner produce bad effects alike to the painter and the owner of the house in which the pictures are painted.

The stone wall for painting pictures on is generally rough chiselled and when a thin coat of plaster is applied to it catches well; very thin coat of plaster several centuries old is seen still sticking to walls in many temples. The frescoes of Ajaṇṭa are one of the few remarkable instances of the durability under proper conditions of Indian paintings. The recipe for making the plaster is given thus in the *Silparatna*: shells and conches are burnt with wood in kilns and slaked. The *chunām* obtained from this source is found to produce plaster which forms very smooth and highly shining surfaces. Four parts of this *chunām* are mixed with one of *mudgākvaṭhalava* (?) and one of fine sand. The whole is soaked in jaggery water. With this are added the ashes of ripe plantain fruits, stirred well and allowed to remain for one month in a vat. After this period the mixture is taken and ground very

nically—like butter—with jaggery water. The plaster is now ready for use.

The wall is cleaned free of dust and dirt and a coat of jaggery water is applied to it with a brush made of the husk of the cocoanut. When the wall is practically dry, the plaster is applied very thinly with a polished, shining metallic trowel and the surface smoothened with it or with a perfectly plane wooden trowel. These trowels should be of sizes suitable for the purpose (see figures 1 and 2). The pre-

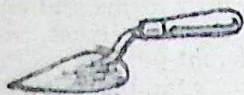


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Metal and Wooden Trowels.

paration of the surface should be proceeded with slowly, ensuring even and smooth surface. When the plaster is laid upon the wall and is somewhat dry, the surface is given a wash with clean water with a cocoanut brush. When the water has been absorbed by the plaster and the surface remains still wet painting might be begun.

The plaster described above should not be used in the case of wooden boards, when these latter are employed as the surface for painting. The preparation which is applied over the plaster and which is described below is the material which must be spread on wooden boards.¹³

WHITE WASHING THE WALLS.

The plastered wall should be given a coat of white colour. This is obtained by mixing with the gum of the *nīm* or wood-apple tree nicely powdered unburnt conches and shells, or kaolin. This colour must be laid very evenly over the prepared surface of the wall, on wooden boards or on cloth with the bark of the *sākhota* tree or a brush made of the stalk of the *ketaki* plant. Or, finely powdered lime (*chunām*) ground several times with the water of tender cocoanuts, may be diluted with hot water and applied on the plastered surface. (This latter preparation should not be

used on wooden surfaces and on cloth). The ground is thus made ready for sketching the outlines of the painting. That shell *chunām* produces a very highly polished surface is a generally known fact as also that it is possible to obtain such a nice surface by the application of a thin coating of this material. Mr. Griffiths, who spent over nineteen years in the study of the paintings at Ajanta and who made extensive copies of them, has noticed this thin coating in Ajanta. Regarding the preparation of the surface for painting he remarks :

"This first layer—which, according to our modern notions—promises no great permanence, was laid to a thickness varying from one-eighth to three-quarters of an inch, and on it an egg-shell coat of fine white plaster was spread. This skin of plaster, in fact, overlaid everything—mouldings, columns, carved ornaments, and figure sculptures—but in the case of carved details, without the intervention of the coat of earthen rough-cast; and, from what remains, it is clear that the whole of each cave was thus plastered and painted..... Great pains were taken with the statues of Buddha; one in the small chamber to the right of the first floor of Cave VI is covered with a layer of the finest plaster one-eighth of an inch thick, so painted and polished that the face has the smoothness and sheen of porcelain."¹⁴

The application of a very thin coat of plaster is observed on the Gāndhāra sculptures also. Mr. V. A. Smith remarks :

"The stone was frequently finished with fine plaster, like the rock sculptures of Ajanta and many other localities of India and Ceylon, and the effect was heightened by the free use of colour and gilding, traces of which are still occasionally discernible." (P. 99)

MAKING PENCILS FOR SKETCHING OUTLINE DRAWING.

A recipe is given in the *Silparatna* for making pencils used in tracing the outlines of the pictures. Pieces of old tile are ground into very fine powder and mixed with dried powder of cow-dung; to this mixture is added gum-water and the whole once again ground into a fine paste. This is rolled into sticks resembling brushes to the length of 2, 3 or 4 *angulas*. These pencils are called *kitta-lekhanis*.

The subjects of painting may consist of the figures of gods, men, beasts, snakes, birds, trees, creepers, etc., mountains and seas; these must be depicted exactly as one sees them or as one has heard of them. The sketching of the subject is best done

13. Regarding the surface of the silk or cotton fabric upon which paintings are executed in Tibet, Mr. V. A. Smith states that "they may be painted either directly on the fabric or on a coat of plaster applied to it."

14. Griffiths : *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*. p. 18.

with a calm mind and after very deep thought and constant reflection; the work of drawing must be begun in an auspicious moment with a *kitta-lekhani*. Wherever the drawing is found defective, it must be wiped off with a clean cloth and redrawn correctly. Above all, great stress is laid upon the artist ruminating over the subject of painting repeatedly, so that he might first produce a correct drawing of it. When the drawing is found satisfactory, the outline is traced just outside the outline drawn with the *kitta-lekhani*, with a medium sized brush (*madhyama lekhami*) dipped in yellow colour. The original pencil tracing is then rubbed off with a cloth. The yellow colour, being a light one, there is still a chance of the artist effecting corrections in his drawing. When he thinks he can no better improve his sketch, he may retrace the outlines with red colour, so that the details may be distinctly visible. At this stage the filling in of local colour is taken up.

Innumerable finished and unfinished paintings throughout South India and more especially in Malabar have been examined by me; in most of these the yellow or red outline has been noticed. The same has been the experience of Mrs. Herringham in her studies of the Ajanta frescoes. She remarks on the technique of the Ajanta paintings generally thus:—

"The technique adopted, with perhaps some few exceptions, is a bold red line-drawing on the white plaster. Sometimes nothing else is left. This drawing gives all the essentials with force or delicacy as may be required, and with knowledge and intention. Next comes a thinnish *terra-verde* monochrome showing off the red through it; then the local colour; then a strengthening of the outlines with blacks and browns giving great decision, but also a certain flatness; last, a little shading if necessary. There is not much light and shade modelling, but there is great definition given by the use of contrasting local colour and of emphatic blacks and whites."¹⁵

Can any description of the technique of ancient Indian painting approach nearer that which is given in the *āgamas* than the above quotation from Mrs. Herringham?

COLOURS.

Before proceeding to describe the process of laying in the local colours, let me deal first with the colours themselves and how they are prepared, as also with brushes and their making. The Indians have,

like other nations, recognised the three primary colours red, yellow and blue, but add to these white and black and state that these five are the pure colours (*suddha varnas*).¹⁶ These colours are prepared as follows:—

PRIMARY COLOURS.

Pīta-varva dhātu or yellow ochre: This is a kind of earth obtained from some hills and near certain rivers. It is dug out and the clods first washed free of the ordinary earth sticking to them. Then the clods are broken up and ground nicely in a mortar; by pouring water on the powder and stirring, the grit and coarser grains settle down at the bottom. The water containing the fine sediment is then drawn off and poured into another vessel wherein the sediment settles down. This process is repeated till all available fine powder is recovered from the water. The supernatant liquid is poured off and the yellow mud is applied to a new earthenware vessel, so that it might absorb the moisture. Then the yellow cake so formed is broken up into small bits and preserved for future use.

Rakta-dhātu (*gairika*) or Indian red: This is also an earthy substance found in hills and near rivers and is obtained for painting purposes in the same way as yellow ochre.

Lamp-black: An oil lamp, supplied with a somewhat long wick, is lit. An earthenware pot, which is already smeared inside with cow's dung and dried, is kept almost covering the flame. By this arrangement, there being an insufficient supply of air, the flame becomes smoky and the soot emitted thus settles on the inner surface of the pot. As much soot as is required is collected, mixed well with clean water and made into a paste which is dried on a new earthenware vessel.

The three above-mentioned colours are then mixed with the gum of the *nīm* tree, ground, dried and made ready for use.

Syāma-dhātu: The texts do not mention the source from which this colour is prepared; they only state that it is also treated in the same manner as the other *dhātus*, but mixed with the gum of the wood-ale tree (*kapittha*).

¹⁶ The names of the pure colours or *suddha-varnas* are the white (*sita*), the yellow (*pīta*), the red (*rakta*), the black (*kajjala*) and the blue (*syāma-varnas*) colours.

¹⁵ Quoted from V. A. Smith's *Hist. of Fine Arts*, P. 278.

The following other colours are also to be prepared and kept for use, namely, for light red (*mridu-rakta*), *sindura* (red lead); for middle red (*madhya-rakta*), *arika* (*haritāla*?)¹⁷ and for deep-red (*atirakta*), *lakshī* (lac dye); lastly, for yellow, *manaśśilā*, orpiment or arsenic-sulphide.

Gairika should be ground with water for one whole day in a mortar and *sindūra* for half a day; but *manaśśilā* must be powdered dry and the powder soaked in water for five days and then ground with water on the sixth. These colours are mixed afterwards with the required quantity of the gum of the *nīm* tree before employing them for painting.

Gold-colour: Pure gold is beaten into very thin leaves which are cut in small bits and put into a mortar; a small quantity of fine clean sand is added and both gold and sand are ground till the gold is reduced to exceedingly fine dust. The paste thus obtained is lixiviated in a glass vessel (*kācha-pātra*) with water and the sand particles are removed by several washing. The highly triturated gold is mixed with glue and applied with proper brushes wherever required in the painting. After it is well dried on the surface of the painting, it is rubbed gently with the tusk of the boar till it is highly burnished.

Another method of applying gold colour is next described. Very thin gold leaves are cut of the required shape and wherever gold paint has to be applied, the surface is first smeared with a thin coat of glue and the gold leaf previously cut to proper size and shape is stuck. When dry the surface of the gold leaf is burnished with a ball of cotton-wool.

For preparing glue, bits of fresh hide of buffalo are boiled with water; when the water assumes the consistency of butter, the matter is rolled into balls and dried. Whenever required, it is dissolved in hot water. This glue (*vajra-lepa*) may also be employed in the place of the gums of the *nīm* or the wood-apple trees.

MIXTURE OF COLOURS.

Colour-mixture. A mixture of white (*sita*) and red (*rakta*) colours yields rose (*gaura-varna*) colour; a mixture of white, black (*krishna*) and yellow (*pīta*) in equal quantities gives..... (*tāra-*

chehhavi); white and black in equal quantities yield the colour of the elephant (*gaja-varna*); red and yellow, in equal parts, the colour of the fruit of *vakula* tree (orange-colour); if twice the quantity of red is mixed with one of yellow it yields the *atirakta varna* (*ati-pīta*?) deep orange colour); two parts of yellow with one of white produces *pingala-varna* (light yellow); two parts of yellow with one of black (*krishna*) gives the colour of deep water; yellow and black in equal quantities is said to produce the colour of the skin of man (this must be evidently the colour of a dusky man). A mixture in equal quantities of *haritāla* (chrome yellow) and *syāma varna* (blue) make a fine green resembling the feather of the wing of the parrot. If black (*krishna*) is mixed with lac-dye (*lakshī-rasa*), the mixture is that of the fruit of the *jambu* (mauve or violet). A kind of red is obtained by a mixture of *lakshī-rasa*, *jāti-linga* (vermillion or mercury sulphide) and white; or *ingulika* (same as *jāti-linga*?) may be substituted (for what, it is not stated). The colour of the hair of the head of a man is obtained by a mixture of black and blue (*nīla*). By judicious mixture, a very much larger variety of mixed colors (*sankīrna-varnas*) could be obtained and the skilled artist must be able to produce any desired colour. Colours ought not to be applied directly to the wall white-washed with lime, but on the same after coating it with kaolin.

The *Amsumadbhedāgama* informs us that the white, the red, the yellow and the blue colours are of four different kinds each and gives us hints to recognise them. The portion of the text dealing with the four kinds of white colours is lost and so it is not possible to say anything about them.

Red colour is of the four following kinds, namely:

1. *Arūna*, which can be recognised as that of the blood of the hare;

2. *Rakta*, which resembles the red of the shoe-flower;

3. *Sīna*, that of the *kimsuka* flower, which has itself the colour of the beak of the parrot; and

4. *Pātala* which is the colour of the lac dye (*lakshī-rasa*).

The yellows are of four kinds, namely:

1. *Svarna* which is the colour of gold;

2. *Kapisa* which resembles the *rajani-sīra* (?);

17. The original reads अरिक्कमद्वारत्तके (?) ।

3. *Pīta*, which is the colour of *haritāla* (chrome yellow); and

4. *Harita* which is that of the cat's eye.

The blues are four in number, namely:

1. *Nīla*, which is the colour of the clouds;

2. *Syāma*, which is of the crow;

3. *Karāla*, which resembles the colour of the neck of the peacock and

4. *Krishna*, which is the jet-black of the wings of beetles.

These sixteen are known, according to the authority quoted above, as *svatantra-varnas*.

A passing mention of colours is made in the *Bharata-Nāṭya-sāstra*, when it describes the painting of the faces of actors.

Men of different countries are of different shades of colour; to appear on the stage with proper skin colours, a study of colours and colour mixture is necessary, for these have to be applied to the faces to imitate different complexions. The *Nāṭya-sāstra* recognises four colours, the white, the blue, the yellow and the red as the four primary colours (*svabhāva-varnas*).¹ The product of the mixture of two colours is called a *upavarna*.

A mixture of white and yellow yields the *pāṇḍu-varna*;

A mixture of white and red, the *padma-varna* (lotus colour);

A mixture of white and blue, the *kapōta-varna* (pigeon colour);

A mixture of yellow and blue, the *harita-varna* (green);

A mixture of blue and red, the *kāśhāya-varna*; and

A mixture of red and yellow, the *gaura-varna* (?).

Many more colours could be obtained by the proper mixture of three, four, &c., colours at a time.

Colours, according to the *Nāṭya-Sāstra*, are divided also into strong and weak colours. In mixing strong and weak colours the proportion of one of strong and two of weak colours should be employed. The blue is the strongest colour; therefore one of blue must be mixed with four parts of the weaker colours.

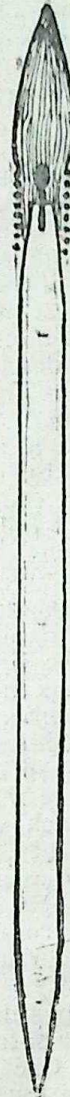
BRUSHES.

Brushes required for painting are classed as of the fine, medium and large sizes

1. *Tārīkas* divide colours into seven kinds, namely, *sukla*, *nīla*, *pīta*, *rakta*, *harita*, *kapisa* and *chitra*.

(*sukshma*, *madhyama* and *sthūla*). The handles of the brushes are required to be six *angulas* in length, whereas the hair of the brushes should be 6 *yavas* in length.

The extremities of the handles of the brushes should be made either cylindrical or octagonal to about a eighth of their length. A metallic nail (*sanku-sauda* = *sanku-khanda*?) having a head shaped in the fashion of a *yava* (barley corn) is driven firmly into one end of the handle. For the *sthūla lekhanis* (large brushes) the hair in the ear of the calves should be used; for the *madhyama-lekhanis* (medium size), the hair on the belly of goats, and for *sukshma-lekhanis* (fine ones) that of the tail of squirrel (*chikroda-puchha*). The above mentioned hairs must be secured firmly round the metallic nail either with lac (sealing wax) or with fine thread (see fig. 3). The artist must provide himself with *lekhanis*¹⁸ (brushes) of the three different sizes made of the three different hairs, in all nine *lekhanis*, for each colour. It is evident that the hairs of the calf's ear, of the belly of the goat and of the tail of the squirrel are of different degrees of flexibility or stiffness and yield brushes corresponding to the modern hog's hair brushes, sable brushes, etc.



Longitudinal section of a *Lekhani*.

SEVERAL POSTURES OF THE HUMAN BODY.

The texts of the *āgamas* then proceed to describe the various postures of the human figure, namely, the *riju*, the *ardharju*, the *sāchika*, the *ardhākshi*, and the *bhittika sthānas*.¹⁹ Corresponding to these frontal

18. The word *lekhani* conveys the same meaning as the ancient usage of the English word *pencil*.

19. Marking the various *sutras* before proceeding with the drawing of the picture is employed as far as it is ascertainable by the Indian school of painting wherever its influence could be traced: Mr.

postures are also dorsal postures, also possessing the same names. The frontal postures are technically known as the *mukhya* and the dorsal ones, the *pará-vritta*. In the *riju-sthāna* the full face of the human being is visible; whereas in the *bhittika*, only one side of the face is said to be visible (that is, the profile). The measurements of the various postures with reference to the medial line (*brahma* or *madhya-sutra*) are given next.

The front side of a figure is called the *purva-bhāga*; and the back-side, the *para-bhaga*. The line which is imagined as passing through the top of the *makuta*, the middle of the forehead, the tip of the nose, and the navel and terminating at the middle of the two feet is called the *brahma-sutra* (compare this with the description of the *Uttama-dasa-tāla* measure given in volume I of my *Elements of Hindu Iconography*). If the total height of a human figure is divided into 124 parts, one of these parts is called an *angula*; the other *sutras*, in the case of the front full faced human figure (*mukhya rijusthāna*), would be situated at distances of six *angulas* from each other; that is, the *mukha-pārsva sutras*, (see fig. 4) at a distance of six *angulas* on either side of the *brahma-sutra*, the *kaksha-sutras* at six *angulas* away from the *mukha-pārsva-sutra*; and the *anga-pārsva-sutra*, six *angulas* from the *kaksha-sutra*; in this posture all the front features of the figure will be distinctly visible; while none of the back will be visible; the width of the ears, then, would be one *angula* and the *sankha* one *angula*; the width of the feet one *bhāga* (one part ?) and the.....of the toes three *bhāgas* (?); here the text is corrupt and is therefore not quite intelligible.²⁰

In the case of the *ardharju* posture, the interspace between the *Pārsva-sutras* and the *brahma-sutra* is..... One of the *pārsva-sutras* should pass from the root of

V. A. Smith's "History of Fine Arts" describes the details of painting by modern Tibetans under the heading "Mechanical Methods" on p. 315.

20. कर्णमात्रमितावच शङ्खवृत्ति सञ्ज्ञितौ ।

पादौ भागमौ दशानङ्गुलसन्निभागिकाः ॥

Regarding the descriptions of the various *sthānas* the text is not quite intelligible. I originally thought of making drawings to suit to the description, but had to abandon the task owing to the difficulty in understanding properly the original.

Anga-pārsva sutra
Kaksha sutra
Mukha-pārsva sutra
Madhya sutra
Mukha-pārsva sutra
Kaksha sutra
Anga-pārsva sutra



Fig. 4

the great toe of the back leg to a little outside the nipple of the breast, the distance of this *sutra* from the knee being five *angulas*; the other *pārsva-sutra* should pass between the middle and the fourth toe to..... (Here once again the text is unintelligible). The *brahma-sutra* must pass through the middle of the brows, the tip of the nose (बृहते वहिः ?), a little outside the pit of the navel, through the middle of the male organ and the heel of the back leg.²¹ The relative position of the various limbs should be delineated by the exercise of one's own imagination.

Sāchika posture. The distance between

21. ब्रह्मसूत्रप्रकारोऽयं भागैरेकेन संकटः (?) ।

one *pārśva-sūtra* and the *brahma-sūtra*, in this instance, should be ten *angulas* and that between the other *pārśva-sūtra* and the *brahma-sūtra*, twelve *angulas*. One *pārśva-sūtra* should touch the forehead, one side of the eye, the cheek (the shoulder-blade perhaps in the *parāvṛtta* or back view), at a distance of one *angula* from the nipple and one and a half *angulas* away from the navel, and be clearly outside the *vamksha* (the joint of the thigh) and the *āni-desa* (the part of the leg just above the knee) and the root of the great toe (परपादाङ्गुली ?).

The *brahma-sūtra* should pass through the middle of the brows (शिरोच ?), the centre of the nostril (अङ्गुली दन्तः पश्चात् ?), the middle of the navel, slightly outside the male organ, in front of the knee and by the side of the nail of the toe.

The other *pārśva-sūtra* should proceed from the back of the head (?), pass near the ear, the neck, (the joint of the shoulder-blade in the case of the *parāvṛtta* or back view), the nipple, at a distance of one *angula* in front of the waist (अङ्गुली वा तद्वत् ?), two *angulas* away from the hip (सन्निहित तद्वत् पाणिभागस्य पृष्ठतः ?) and behind the knee.

In the *ardhākshi* posture, the distance between one *pārśva-sūtra* and the *madhya brahma sūtra*, is one *angula* and that between the latter and the other *pārśva-sūtra*, eleven *angulas*. One of these *pārśva-sūtra* must pass through the scalp (*kesānta*) the tip of the nose, the arm-pit (*kaksha-mula*), the navel, the knee and the root of the great toe; whereas the *brahma-sūtra* (which seems to be known also as the *purva-sūtra*) should pass through the middle of the forehead (सौमन्त) and the middle of the brows and be removed by one *angula* from the *goji* (the hollow on the upper lip immediately below the nose), and should pass through the chin, the arm-pit, the navel, the male organ, the part of the leg just above the knee (*āni*) and the tip of the great toe. The other *pārśva-sūtra* should pass through the back of the head (?), the wrist, the index finger and the knee of the front leg (पूर्वसन्धाङ्गुलीव्रजेत् ?).

The *Bhittika* posture or the profile. In

this instance there would be only two *paksha-sūtras* (= *pārśva-sūtras* ?) and the *brahma-sūtra* would vanish (?), that is, the *madhya-sūtra* would coincide with the *paksha-sūtra*.²² One *paksha-sūtra* would pass from the back of the head touching the shoulder-blade, the elbow and the calf muscle; nothing is mentioned of the other *paksha-sūtra*.

The distance between the scalp (*kesānta*) and the *brahma-sūtra* would be 3 *yavas*;

The distance between the tip of the nose and the *brahma-sūtra* would be 2 *yavas*;

The distance between the *goji* and the *brahma-sūtra* would be 1 *yava*;

(The medial line of the *goji* should be below the rim of the *goji* by $\frac{1}{2}$ *yava*).

The distance between the chin and the *brahma-sūtra* would be 1 *angula*;

The distance between the junction²³ of the neck with the chin and the *brahma-sūtra* would be 1 *angula*; and

The root and tip of the male organ must be tangential to the *brahma-sūtra*.

The four *parāvṛtta*²⁴ or back views are identical with the four *mukhya* or front views, but with this difference, namely, that in the one the features of the back view only would be visible, whereas in the other would be visible only those of the front view. By combining the *mukhya* and the *parāvṛtta* postures any number of mixed postures could be obtained and these are technically known as *sankarasthānas*. In these mixed postures, for example, the face may be *riju-sthāna*, that below the neck another *sthāna*, that below the waist a third and so on. The mixed postures must be evolved by the imagination and artistic skill of the painter; no rules could be laid down to guide the artist.

Having obtained a most accurate drawing of the subject of painting, the artist should proceed to lay in the local colours with a large brush (*sthula-lekham*). In doing this, the artist should avoid the formation of blotches by unskilful hand-

22. Is the passage to be understood in the following manner, when it makes sense? "There would be only two *sūtras*, namely *madhyasūtra* and only one *pārśva-sūtra*; the *pārśva-sūtras*, being in the same plane, coincide; that is. one *pārśva sūtra* vanishes."

23. चटिते व्रजसूत्रे मूलरोहितोच्यते ?

24. Of course, the full back view is taken to be identical with the full front view, so far as the disposition of the *Sūtras* are concerned; hence, the *parāvṛtta* views are said to be only four.

ling of the brush; he should, by application of the pigment in increasing depth of colour, produce the effect of elevation and depressions (निम्नोन्नत). Various degrees of shade could be produced by the judicious mixture of colours; and light and shade (*syāma* and *ujjvala*) and their effect, namely the appearance of roughness and softness (*pārushya* and *mardava*) could be brought out by the skill of the artist in manipulating colours.²⁵

Painting is divided by the ancients into two classes, namely, the *rasa-chitra* and the *dhuli-chitra*. The former employs a medium for mixing colours in; (water-colour painting is an instance of *rasa-chitra*). In the *dhuli-chitra*, which is employed for temporary decorations, the picture is produced by the strewing of dry coloured powders on the prepared ground, which is generally the floor. (This art is known in Southern India under the modern name of *rangavalli* and corresponds to painting with coloured chalks or crayon).

The artist should portray vividly expressions and actions; this, in fact, is the true function of art.

Paintings must reflect as in a mirror the exact likeness of persons and things; it is not enough if the limbs and features are painted correctly; the pictures must depict accurately the *rasas* (sentiments), such as *sringāra* (love), &c. Elegant paintings conveying to the mind of the onlooker various sentiments should be delineated on the walls of temples and houses so as to produce eternal pleasure to the eyes.

The above is a more or less accurate rendering the contents of the *āgamas* regarding the technique of the art of painting. How far these were actually followed by the artists and such other matters have to be examined from the specimens of painting existing in many parts of India and Ceylon.

It might be remarked that in the above description the forms, for instance, of the various limbs of the human figure are not

given; no anatomical studies are prescribed. True; these descriptions are scattered practically over every page of literature and the authors of the treatises on the technique of painting have therefore not cared to reproduce them in their works. A very interesting article describing the parts of human body as depicted by Indian artists, liberally illustrated by well-drawn sketches was published in this Journal by the illustrious artist Mr. Abanindranāth Tagore and the attention of the reader is particularly drawn to it as it gives an accurate idea of the Hindu notions of forms and proportions of the human body. Descriptions of facial expressions depicting various sentiments such as love, anger, etc., are found in the treatises on *Nāṭya-sāstra*; these are often minute even to tediousness and give ample help to the artist in mastering the effects of *rasas* produced on the facial muscles.

In the course of the above dissertation on painting in ancient India, in the paragraph on colour mixture, it has been mentioned that a mixture of white and red colours produce rose (*gaura*) colour. This colour is used to portray very fair skinned persons; for example, Siva, Haya-grīva, etc. High class ladies are painted in pale yellow colour. It is stated that a mixture of yellow and black in equal proportion produces the colour of the skin; this fact clearly shows that in Southern India at least the prevailing colour of the skin was dark, which was represented by a sort of grey green. The two different skin colours, namely, light yellow and greyish green are seen to be the skin colours of the life sized figures of females painted in the Sigiri Cave in Ceylon.

In Malabar there is a school of painting which has a peculiar characteristic of its own and is distinct from other schools of painting: the public have had no access to the Malabar School of painting hitherto. Specimens of this school abound in the country and are often of striking beauty and skill. In these, one may study the *āgamic* descriptions being carried out more or less accurately. The painters were often the leisured classes of the Namburi brāhmaṇas of Malabar. A large number of temple of the East Coast of Southern India, also contain paintings of some antiquity. A portfolio of the choice pictures gathered from these sources,

²⁵. It must be specially noted here that Hindu artists cared as much for the effects produced by light and shade as the artists of the Western nations. It is wrong to contend that the Hindu artist did not want to employ light and shade as often as he desired to produce the same effect by his line-drawing. Distinct attempts at shading correctly may be shown from many ancient and medieval paintings.

tracing the history of painting from century to century, is indeed a great desideratum and it is earnestly hoped that it will

be forthcoming in the near future and add to our small stock of already published pictures of ancient and medieval India.

TRANSLITERATION V. INDIAN SCRIPTS

LET me begin by saying that I have always had a violent prejudice against the transliteration of Indian languages into Romaic script. It is probably a mere prejudice and no more, simply due to the fact that just as "George Washington" and "Victoria" look ugly, somehow, when rendered as জর্জ ওয়াশিংটন and ভিক্টোরিয়া, so, shall we say ?—রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় looks prettier, and is more agreeable to some subtle sense of fitness than even the respected and familiar "Ramananda Chatterji." Script and spelling seem as much a part of a language as an oyster's shell and its occasional pearls belong to the succulent mollusk which secretes them. All this is a matter of prejudice. But prejudice, preconception, habit dominate us all in matters much more important than mere writing. I admit that I am prejudiced in favour of Indian scripts. They are beautiful, (especially the charming Bengali variety of the deva-nāgarī script) and the Indian alphabets are admittedly completer and more scientific in their arrangement than the "higgledy-piggledy" alphabets of European and Semitic languages, which jumble vowels and consonants together without apparent rhyme or reason.

But I feel bound to say, in mere honesty, that recent experience in teaching has taught me (there is no better teacher than the attempt to teach) that there are marked advantages in using a transliteration of Indian scripts for philological purposes. Such a transliteration makes the rapid apprehension of etymology remarkably easy. This is due to the convention by which the letter *a* is regarded as 'inherent' in consonants in India and is therefore not written and hence gives rise to the যুক্তাক্ষর which are a notable impediment to the graphic record of etymologies. It is exactly equivalent to the difficulties experienced in arithmetic before the discovery of the magic cypher

which has so transmuted and facilitated the art of calculation.

For take an Indian word and write it in Romaic characters, leaving out all the অক্ষর. Take the word পরমহংস and write it without the *a*'s. You will get "prmhms." Take চক্রবর্তী, and you get c^kv^rtⁱ. Take লক্ষী, and you write l^ksⁱ. Take লক্ষণ, and there results l^ksⁿ.

This peculiarity is evidently an impediment to the graphic exposition of etymology. So again, is the otherwise charming and pretty convention by which all but initial forms of the other vowels are written in visible combination with the consonants to which they are wedded in speech. For the philologist calls on the eye to divorce sounds wedded together by the tongue and the ear. In Bengali the letters *e* and *ai* and *i* precede their consonants, as some wives walk before their husbands, so fearful are they of being separated from them; and as for *o* and *au*, they actually twine themselves round their consonants and become wholly inseparable, so that it is difficult, for example, to explain the *san-dhi* in তিরোভূত except by oral enunciation and explanation. Now, in ordinary transliteration, (in which *a* is written, and in which the sign বিরাম is not required) etymology is made very easily apparent by the use of hyphens. Consider, for instance, the signification calling for no elaborate explanation, of the writing down of the following words, in which the hyphens show where the component parts occur: an-ek; dhar-iyā-chilām; sam-abhi-vy-ā-hār-e; tiro-bhūta; mano-har, etc.

It is obvious that these graphic representations of the morphology of the words cannot be effected in letters so inextricably

compounded as in অনেক, ধরিয়াছিলাম, সম্ভি-
বাহারে, তিরোভূত, মনোহর, etc.

It may be said that the advantage thus gained by transliterating is a trifling one. Yet anything that tends to clearness and accuracy of thought and exposition is not to be despised. We humans, at best, are confused and prejudiced creatures, and clearness of speech and writing, small matters in themselves, are a step in the direction of that utter honesty of thought and statement which is the very basis of what we call Science, and so, oddly enough, partition off from the ordinary affairs of life. Science, surely, is merely the rigorously accurate, unprejudiced, and disinterested ascertainment and statement of all manner of facts so far as they are within our cognizance and competence.

Let us therefore confess, even it be with a pang, that for philological purposes, our Indian alphabets, wonderfully complete and accurate as records of spoken sound though they be (far better than western and Semitic alphabets), are not helped but hindered by the fact that there is no non-initial symbol for অ-কার।

While I am about it, I feel impelled to make a further admission to the advocates of Romaic Script. The যুক্তাক্ষর is something of a trial to old eyes. This does not matter in the case of very common and familiar words, since the eye grasps the accustomed form, the *picture* as it were, of the whole word, and does not scan the component letters. But some admirable Indian writers make a free use of somewhat recondite Sanskrit *tat-samā's*. In these, the compound consonants and the symbols α and ζ present real difficulties to eyes which no longer possess microscopic clearness of vision.

Having made all these (I trust generous) admissions, let me repeat that, while it is pleasant and easy to read good Bengali prose and verse in the beautiful Bengali script, it is not agreeable to read, say, one of Rabi Babu's charming odes set out as follows :—

āmār milan lāgi tumi
ās'ca kave theke !
tomār candra sūryya tomāy
rakh'be kothāy d̥heke !

kata kāler s̄a-kāl s̄ajhe
tomār caraṇ-dhvani bāje,
gopane dut hr̥day mājhe
geche āmāy d̥heke.

The stanza has lost something of its grace and charm, I know not how or why, and I feel inclined to apologise to the famous কবিবর who wrote these delightful lines. I suppose a similar result would follow if we were to write a stanza of Wordsworth or Tennyson in Bengali script.

I fear this is not a very helpful contribution to the Battle of the Scripts, being indeed a statement of the ideas of a benevolent neutral. I have friends in both camps, for whose opinions and motives I have a great respect. What I suggest is a temporary compromise, and one that cannot injure the prospects of either combatant. Let us keep the indigenous script and spelling of each language for literature, which must needs be the work of those to the manner born. That need not prevent any author who is so disposed from writing in Mr. Knowles' Romaic script or in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. (I shall be surprised if anyone avails himself of the opportunity !) I do not think that any eager and inspired writer in Bengali will even desire to write Bengali prose and verse in the cognate and almost equally beautiful deva-nāgarī script.

But for such merely mechanical tasks, matters of routine or erudition, as dictionary-making or grammar-writing, I venture to think that a transliteration into Romaic script has its advantages. You will notice that it is much used by Asiatic Societies and other such bodies all over the world. It is clear, easily read, and possess the *a* and the hyphen, which in philology are almost as useful as the 0 in arithmetic.

Perhaps I may be allowed to add that if ever Mr. Jñānendramohan Das undertakes a second edition of his admirable and most useful and indeed priceless *Abhi-dhān*, he might consider whether it would not be well to give the pronunciations in the script of the International Phonetic Association, now used very widely for that purpose. It affords a means of discriminating between all known sounds used in speaking and of correctly recording them so that men of any country can instantaneously recognize them. The phonetic script Mr. Das has invented for his own use is good, but it takes a little time to

acquire and some effort to retain it in mind. Whereas the I. P. A. script is familiar to linguists everywhere. You will observe that, here again, I compromise. I do not propose the use of I. P. A. script for general use in Indian or European languages. It were vain to do so, for it is plain that the generality of men will not use it for correspondence or composition. But for a special purpose such as that of indicating to the eye in a dictionary the correct pronunciation of words written in conventional spelling, its value cannot be

denied, since it has stood the test of many years of experience.

I know that one who suggests compromise will not win the favour of enthusiasts of either side. Yet this compromise calls for a concession which may easily and painlessly be granted by the conservative, and one which will, in a measure, be valued by the most impatient reformer. It is with that thought that I make my well-meant and diffident suggestion.

J. D. ANDERSON.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF TAXILA

THE following account of the foundation of Taxila which is taken from the Ramayana may be found interesting.

According to the Ramayana, when Rama ruled in Ayodhya, the Gandharvas used to live in the country on both the banks of the Indus.

अथ गन्धर्वविषयः फलमूलोपशोभितः

सिन्धोरुभयतः पाश्च देशः परमशोभनः ।

तं रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वाः सायुधा युद्धकोविदाः ॥

Ramayana, Uttarakanda,*

100th Sarga, Slokas 10 and 11.

Towards the end of his rule,† Rama, at the request of Yudhajit, King of Kekaya and maternal uncle of Bharata, sent an army for the conquest of the Gandharvas who lived in the "beautiful country on both the banks of the Indus." The army was led by Bharata who was accompanied by his sons, Taksha and Pushkala. On hearing their approach Yudhajit (whose kingdom appears to lie to the east of the Indus adjacent to the country of the Gandharvas) joined them with a large following. The valiant Gandharvas came out to fight when they found their country attacked. A terrific battle ensued which lasted for seven nights. Ultimately the Gandharva army (which was 30 millions strong) was totally destroyed by the prowess of Bharata. Bharata then built

two cities in the country which he conquered. The cities were named Takshashila and Pushkalavata, after the names of his sons Taksha and Pushkala who were established in the two cities. The following *slokas* describe the beauty and the splendour of the two cities. They show that even in those early times ideas of town-planning were considerably developed in India.

दृष्टेः तेषु सर्वेषु भरतः केकयीसुतः ।

निवेशयामास तदा समृद्धं द्वे-पुरोत्तमे ॥

तत्र तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते ।

गन्धर्वदेशे रुचिरे गान्धारविषये च सः ॥

धनरत्नीषसंकीर्णं काननं रूपशोभिते ।

अन्योन्य-संघर्ष-कृते सङ्घातगुणविस्तरैः ॥

उभे सुवहिरप्रख्ये व्यवहारैरकिल्बिषैः ।

उद्यानयानसंपूर्णं सुविभक्तान्तरापथे ॥

उभे पुरवरे रम्ये विस्तरै रूपशोभिते ।

गृहसुखैः रुचिरैर्विमानैर्बहुभिर्नृते ॥

शोभिते शोभनीयेषु देवायतनविस्तरैः ।

तावै तमावैस्त्रिलोकैर्बहुलै रूपशोभिते ॥

Uttarakanda, 101st Sarga,
Slokas 10 to 15.

"When all those (Gandharvas) were killed, Bharata, the son of Kekayee, built two splendid towns (Takshashila and Pushkalavata). He established Taksha in Takshashila and Pushkala in Pushkalavata,—(the former town) in the beautiful Gandharva country, (the latter town) in the country of Gandhara. These two towns were full of riches and precious stones; they were adorned with gardens,

* The references in this article are to the edition of the Ramayana by the Nirnayasagara Press.

† Ramayana, Uttarakanda, 100th and 101st Sarga.

भरतस्तत्र गन्धर्वान् युधि निर्जित्य केवलान् ।
आतीतान् ग्राहयामास समत्वाजयदायुधं ॥

Raghuvamsam, Canto XV.
Slokas 90 and 91.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE.

THE SEER

E. E. SPEIGHT.

GLEANINGS

Nigao-e.

The *Nigao-e* is a picture painted to represent the characteristics revealed by the actor in a play. Most of these portraits bear some resemblance to the faces, but always in a highly embellished form, so as to depict the ideal face. The *nigao-e* is painted often to emphasize the idea of an actor entertained by his lady admirers and other friends. The *nigao-e* of famous actors is usually sold as a color print, and finds sale chiefly among the friends of such actors.



Nigao-e by Torii Kiyotada.

Just when this custom of printing and selling idealized portraits of actors first began in Japan is not known. In early days, however, when the life of the actor was regarded as low, such pictures had little vogue, and in their composition never commanded the talent of first-rate artists. The first painter of importance to give attention to such art was Torii Kiyonobu who died in 1702 at the age of fifty-eight.

Torii Kiyonobu had been associated with theatres from childhood through his father who painted theatrical posters. It was in this way that the son, Kiyonobu, became a skilled hand in portraying the faces of actors.

After Kiyonobu began to set out as an independent artist he showed the influence of his father's trade, as well as that of Hishikawa Moronobu and the style of Kaigetsudo, a noted contemporary. At first Kiyonobu made the face of Ichikawa Danjuro, a noted actor of the day, his specialty. Danjuro was distinguished for a bold and vivacious manner of acting, and the portraits of him made for color prints by Kiyonobu were accordingly as agitated as they were exaggerated. Kiyonobu became as skilled in the portraiture of the real Danjuro as he was in painting his idealized or exaggerated likenesses. As there were no other artists to compare with him in this line of painting, Kiyonobu became very popular and his color prints of actors were in great demand.

Between the years 1751 and 1763 there appeared another artist named Toriyama Sekiyen. His picture of the artist Kwannon presented to the shrine at Asakusa is famous. It was this picture which made the *nigao-e* of actors popular among the Yedo folk.

Another noted painter of *nigao-e* was Katsukawa Shunsho who lived in 1768 and onwards.

After that many great artists tried their hand at *nigao-e*, among which one of the foremost was Toshusai Sharaku who flourished between 1781 and 1794. Sharaku brought all the characteristic features of his remarkable skill with the brush into his portraiture of the noted actors of his day, taking the utmost pain to be true to life. His half-length pictures of leading actors had a great vogue, as they were wonderfully like their originals, especially in regard to characteristic expressions. Perhaps he erred a little too much on the side of exaggeration, which made the picture seem unnatural to those unacquainted with the original; and often he was rather too true to life, bringing out the defects of his subject as well as his virtues; and this did not tend to make Sharaku's pictures very popular at first. The public did not care to see the defects of their favourite actors exaggerated or made fun of in any way. To-day, however, people are ready to pay a fortune for a color print of Sharaku's, as they are in great demand among European connoisseurs of Japanese art.

Such artist as Ippitsusai Buncho and Okamoto Masafusa made themselves famous by painting *nigao-e*. Perhaps the most renowned of the *nigao-e* artists of this time was Utagawa Toyokuni, the first of that name, as he elaborated the process to something not before attained, using very loud colors which caught the eye of the populace. Toyokuni had special rules for painting a *nigao-e*. He used to say that the artist should begin with the nose, then the mouth and next the eyes, after which the portrait will be naturally well drawn. He was accustomed to note carefully the peculiarities of his subject on the stage, and incorporate them into the picture. While Sharaku endeavored to portray the peculiarities of expression revealed by his subjects on the stage, Toyokuni tried to bring out their main characteristics in action. In the painting of *nigao-e* Toyokuni did not make progress beyond a certain point, after which he seems to have lost interest and shrunk to formalism and vulgarity.

In the painting of actors' portraits Utagawa

Kunisada, one of the pupils of Toyokuni, was eminently successful, and thereby winning for himself a reputation he had not obtained in the depiction



Nigao-e by Toyokuni & Kiyomitsu.

of graver subjects. Having made a hit, the artist continued at this sort of portraiture, though his work always showed too much convention and adherence to type. His anxiety after over-coloration and decoration rather spoiled the effects which his admirers first sought in his achievements.

A pupil of Kunisada, named Kunichika, was also successful as painter of *nigao-e*; his pictures won for him an undying reputation, though it cannot be said that his art represented more than the more defective aspects of that of his master.

After this time the *nigao-e* craze seemed to decline, such color prints being unpopular. But of late there has been a tendency to revival under the auspices of features imported from Europe.

One of the leading artists in the new *nigao-e* school is Natori Shusen, whose pictures of actors vividly reveal characteristic features of countenance and action, including even the peculiarities of the subject. His paintings are not published as color prints, however, but appear mostly as frontispieces in popular magazines or as lithographic posters.

Some of his pictures have been reproduced as illustrations from wooden blocks without the vivid colouring of the originals.

Matsuda Seifu is another modern painter of *nigao-e*, but in pure Japanese style, yet showing considerable foreign ideas; while in oil paintings of *nigao-e* Tanaka Ryo stands first. His attempts at color-print effects in oil have been not altogether unsuccessful, producing certainly something better than the mere sketches offered by others. In modern Japan, though the color print shows some slight indication of revival, the public is more taken with woodcuts and picture postcards in *nigao-e*.

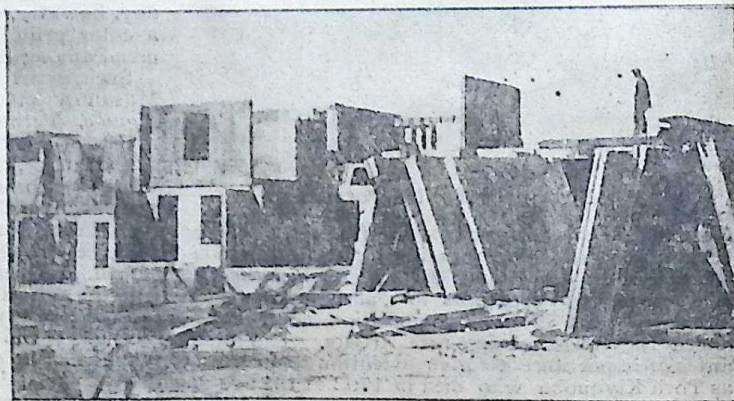
—The Japan Magazine.

A Concrete Village.

The house cast solidly of concrete in one piece, poured into a mold like cast metal, has not materialized commercially. But concrete houses cast in pieces and then assembled are apparently both practical and inexpensive. This method of building in "units" has been employed for some time to erect large industrial structures, but it is now being used for the first time in a group of dwellings in Youngstown, Ohio. The expense of moving and handling the slabs is more than offset by reduction in the cost of forms and the possibility of operating the concrete-plant continuously.

"Precast slabs, poured in a yard and erected by a traveler, are being used for the first time in America to construct dwelling-houses. The so-called unit method of concrete construction.....is being successfully applied to the construction of 146 dwellings for the first section of a community center.....east of Youngstown, Ohio. This settlement marks one of the first attempts to provide living-quarters of a permanent and inexpensive type which will be comfortable, sanitary, and practically fire-proof. The success of the experiment is made possible by the almost indestructible character of the buildings, and by the low cost which could be secured through erecting a large number of houses at one operation.

"The method of construction allows the concrete-plant to operate continuously, regardless of the progress of the other work, and greatly reduces the cost of forms. These advantages, according to the contractor, much more than offset the added cost of



A CONCRETE VILLAGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

As each house is erected the concrete slabs for the next are cast and stacked ready to be lifted into place by the great hoist and joined together.

rehandling and erecting the slabs after they are cast, which is the only item that would not be required if the houses were poured in place. The use of concrete-casting platforms, granulated slag-cores for forming hollow wall-slabs and of a traveling erection-derrick, mounted on towers, characterizes the work

"The dividing walls between houses are hollow, while all other slabs cast are ribbed. The exterior slabs are set with the smooth face out and the ribs, with wood inserts, form studs to which a lath-and-plaster wall is secured on the inside. The ceilings of the basement and the first floor are beamed, the smooth side of the slab being turned up. With the ceilings of the second floor, however, the ribbed sides of the slabs are turned up, leaving a smooth ceiling below. The window and door-openings are cast in the wall-slabs, but the window-sills are cast separately. After the sills are placed, wooden door and window-frames are fitted.

"The roof design is of timber framing with one-inch plank sheathing, on which a red-tile roof is nailed. The gable ends are made with triangular concrete slabs. These red gable roofs on the white buildings are expected to give a very pleasing architectural effect.

"The hoisting is done with wire-rope slings and hooks, which are hooked into eye-bolts embedded in the concrete. The heads of these bolts come inside the form, recesses being cast around them large enough to permit slipping in the hook. The floor-slabs have four such rings so that they can be suspended level, while the wall-slabs have rings only in the top edge. The lighter pieces, such as the chimneys and the window-ledges, are set by hand and hoisted in bundles with a sling."—*The Literary Digest*.

Shooting through a slot.

A new kind of shotgun has the end of its muzzle broadened out and flattened into a slot, to keep the shot together and make the sportsman's aim more accurate at long range. *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York), which describes this gun, calls attention to its usefulness both in war and in sport ;



SHOOTING THROUGH A SLOT
THE MUZZLE OF THIS GUN IS FLATTENED OUT.
And the shot issue in a horizontal line.

the principle, we are told, may be applied to artillery as well as to rifle-fire. To quote :

"From the time British sportsmen learned that hitting flying things was entirely possible, there has been a hundred years of endeavor to make a shotgun fire its shot charges more compactly, to the end that the density of the 'pattern' be sufficient to insure hits even at very long range.

"Now comes an inventor with a device to make a shotgun spread its charge even more than the normal 'cylinder' barrel, and not only to make it spread, but to produce a spread of a certain shape so as to increase the chances for a hit.

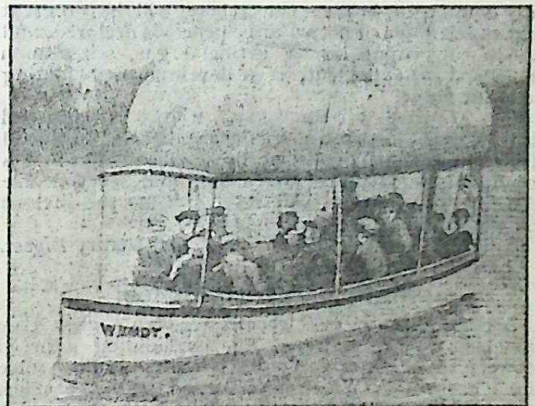
"For war-usage, this inventor has produced for the shotgun a muzzle flattened horizontally, until it is nothing more than a slot of a width equal to the diameter of the buckshot to be used ; and of course running horizontally as the gun is held by the shooter. The result, says the inventor, is a 'pattern,' made with twelve buckshot, fourteen inches high by eight feet wide at a distance of thirty yards. In other words, at this range the gun shoots a horizontal line of round bullets, not one of which is higher or lower than seven inches from the average, all traveling in a 'line of skirmishers,' eight feet wide. Were men charging the trench at yard intervals, which is not now true, three or four of them would be hit with a bullet each. The device can be applied to cannon also, the load being changed to a charge of loose leaden bullets and the muzzle flattened out to allow them to pass out in a horizontal line only.

"For game-shooting what is needed is a little lever for quickly changing the horizontal position to a vertical one. Where the crossing duck or quail would have to run the gantlet of a shot charge spread out, say, fifteen feet from east to west, the walked-up game, rising suddenly, or the soaring duck, would call for a vertical position of the flattened muzzle."

—*The Literary Digest*.

Gas-Driven Motors.

"Hundreds of heavy commercial motors, light parcel vans, cumbersome motor-lorries, motor-busses, limousines, runabouts, and even motor-cycles and motor-boats in all parts of England, are now successfully operating under gas-power. The first experimental successes with gas fuel led to its being used practically in a few cities and towns, conspicuously

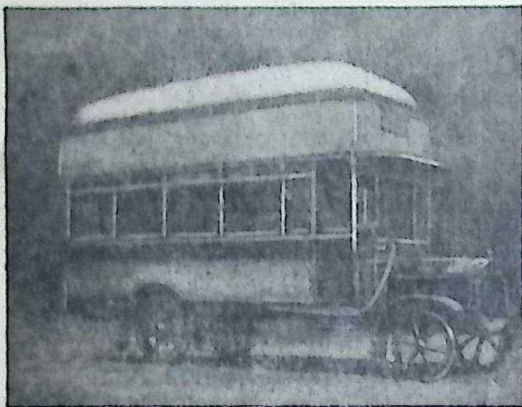


GAS-DRIVEN MOTOR-BOAT.
The gas is carried in a collapsible bag.

in Manchester, in Birmingham, and in London itself, and the innovation proved so successful in those centers that the rest was easy.....

"About the only real difficulty the British motorists seem to have encountered has been with their devices for storing the gas aboard the car. At first crude collapsible bags, made of two-ply cotton sheeting, thoroughly waterproofed, that ballooned from the tops of the big motor-busses when inflated and that flopped down over their sides as the gas passed out, were generally used.

"More recently there has been an increasing use of semi-rigid and rigid containers of various sorts, long, narrow tanks like that fitted to New York's pioneer gas-driven car being used in some instances. Bags of all sizes have been utilized during the various stages of the development of the new idea, but those holding from 300 to 500 cubic feet of gas have been the most common. From figures recently published it appears that English automobiles are operating on 300 cubic feet of gas as the equivalent of one gallon of gasoline.



GAS-DRIVEN MOTOR-BUS.

The gas is carried in the rigid container on top.

"The conviction is gaining ground that the motor-car operated by artificial gas has come to stay even after the war. More and more English experts are daily coming to believe that there will be no great drop in the price of petrol after peace is declared, and that motor propulsion by artificial gas, seized upon as a war-time expedient, is a development of lasting economic value.

"F. G. Bristow, Secretary of the Commercial Motor Users' Association of Great Britain, has said of the motor-car propelled by artificial gas: 'Its popularity is steadily increasing, and most people who have given it a trial regard it as the obvious solution of the petrol problem.'

—The Literary Digest.

Writing with the Knee.

Armless men have hitherto written, when they have been able to write at all, by holding a pencil between the teeth or toes. Both these plans involve much difficulty. What is asserted to be a much easier method has been devised by Dr. Arthur T. Blachly, now serving in the Medical Officers' Reserve Corps somewhere between the Pacific Ocean and the French front. Dr. Blachly's "knee-writer" is des-

cribed and illustrated in *The Scientific American* (New York, April 13). Says this paper:

"Those who have lost their hands or the use of them may still, with a little practise, write legibly by aid of the knee-writer here illustrated. The clamps and clips fasten the leather sheaf firmly to the knee, and the pen or pencil to the leather. Paper is held in



ARMLESS MAN WRITING WITH THE KNEE.

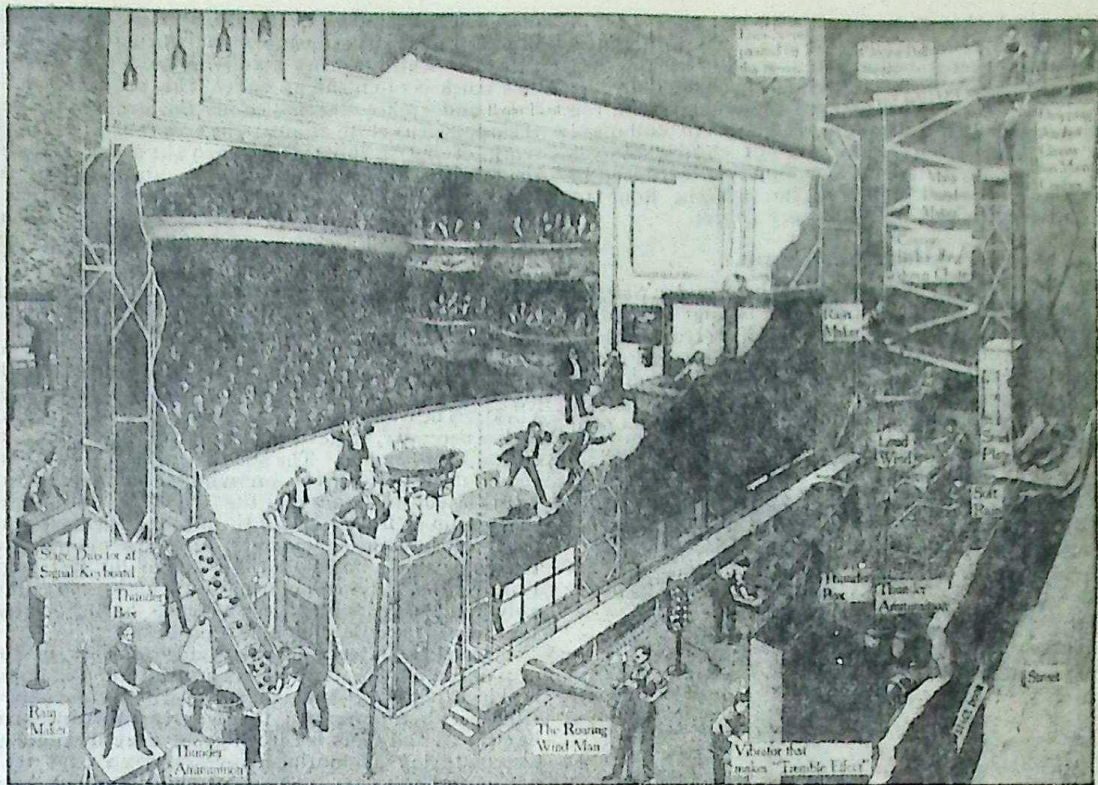
position before the knee on a little stand. The actual process of writing is not nearly so difficult as might seem. The heel is raised until the foot rests on the ball, giving the knee quite a range of action, combined with sufficient steadiness to insure proper control after a due amount of practise. There can be no comparison between this device and the writing by means of a pencil held in teeth or toes, which has heretofore been about the only resource of the armless."

—The Literary Digest.

A Stage Deluge.

Some rather unusual stage machinery to produce the sounds of a violent storm and flood are described in *The Electrical Experimenter*. In a play entitled "The Deluge," the actors are shut in a room made water-proof by lowering iron shutters, and a flood, caused by the bursting of a dam during a storm, strikes the building, which is supposed to be about to collapse at any moment. These conditions are maintained practically throughout the action of the play, and the business of the machinery is to preserve the illusion.

"'Back stage' all the space available is devoted to



A STAGE DELUGE.

While the audience shudders and quakes at the raging of the terrible storm, nineteen men back stage are working "wind" machines, rumbling cannon-balls up and down a chute, and a full-size anchor chain is dropt forty feet upon a steel plate with a reverberating crash.

the miscellaneous apparatus necessary to produce the effect.

"The innumerable cables, braces, stands, spotlights, and maze of ropes would test most people's ingenuity, particularly those unacquainted with life behind the scenes.

"In this production every available bit of space is utilized. The scene proper is what is known as a 'box set,' and is a permanent arrangement through the three scenes of the play.

"Details have been given strict attention and the lowering of the iron shutters to make the place water-tight is a most ingenious arrangement, the audience being able to see the shutters slowly descending as the ratchets and cranks do their work—noisily and dramatically. Now for the 'big stuff' :

"Seated at a keyboard provided with numerous 'telltale' lamps, the stage-manager signals to the various men stationed in distant nooks and corners to produce whatever effect they have charge of at the critical moment or moments. Near each stage hand is set a signal lamp in series, with a telltale lamp on the stage-manager's keyboard, and both work together. It requires nineteen men to produce the 'atmosphere' of the deluge !

"Some 'work' large trays, made of resinous wood and resembling the shape of a cheese-box cover, with very small peas in the same. These trays are held in both hands and worked around in a rolling motion, thereby giving the effect of light rain, and may be seen being used by the men on the slightly

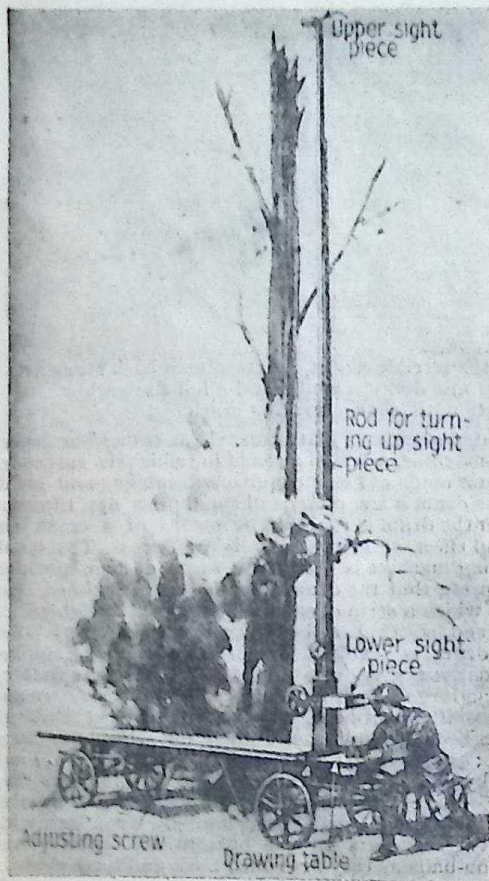
elevated stands or platforms. Next comes our heavy rain-machine, made of a stand in which is suspended a drum made of fine mosquito screenings, and inside of the drum a few pounds of small peas are thrown; when the drum is revolved by means of a crank the sound effect of heavy rain is produced. The wind-making machine is nearly the same as rain-machine, excepting that the drum is made of large chicken wire over which a strip of canvas is thrown, weighted on one end so that it bears against the drum. When the drum is revolved the friction exerted against the canvas gives the effect of wind. For shrieking wind a large hand blower as is used by riveters and blacksmiths is utilized, and the wind is sent through a number of chambers and then out through a large horn; when the handle is turned swiftly a loud, shriek wind effect is secured. And now for our 'big slam'—large wooden troughs are used for the rumble effect and are about ten feet long by two feet wide with zigzag slats on the bottom to bounce the cannon-balls as they are rolled back and forth.

"The mighty rumble of the dam bursting is made by having a similar arrangement of troughs extending from the top of the 'fly-gallery' (about forty feet) down to the floor of the stage, as shown in the picture, which, in this case, were attached to a zigzag stairway leading to the dressing-rooms. When the 'thunder-man' is signaled he lifts a small door in a big case containing all sizes of cannon-balls, and permits a choice quantity of them to run down through the zigzag troughs, with a resulting sound-

climax; and then to top it off a life-size anchor chain is dropt from the fly-gallery on to a large iron plate, making a never-to-be-forgotten crash! Besides all this, there is an immense tremble-machine, built like an organ, which when set to going gives you the creepy feeling that the building is about to collapse! The machine is worked by a giant electric blower and air compressor, which equipment is located in the cellar with pipes leading up through the floor to the machine proper."—*The Literary Digest*.

A Giant Periscope.

The periscope, says a writer in *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, February), is put to more strenuous service among the English troops than among any of the other belligerents. The old French saying, "Be silent; your enemies are listening!" might well be paraphrased by the Germans to read "Lie low; the English are looking!" We read further:



THE POLE PERISCOPE IN POSITION.

"The accompanying illustration shows a pole periscope of a late design, which is extensively used by the English and also by the Italians, because it enables an officer to peep over tall obstacles, whether mountain peaks or merely tree-tops. The height to which it can be run up depends upon the number of sections

of which it is made. The sections telescope into the bottom tube when not in use and during transportation, for which a tiny two-wheeled truck is used. The truck is often run up under the protection of a tree, and spikes are nailed in the ground to hold the apparatus close against the tree-trunk. It is the work of but a moment to turn the crank and send the telescoped sections up into the air until the top peeps out over the tree-top. The body of the truck is built so low that it can be easily concealed by brush."

—*The Literary Digest*.

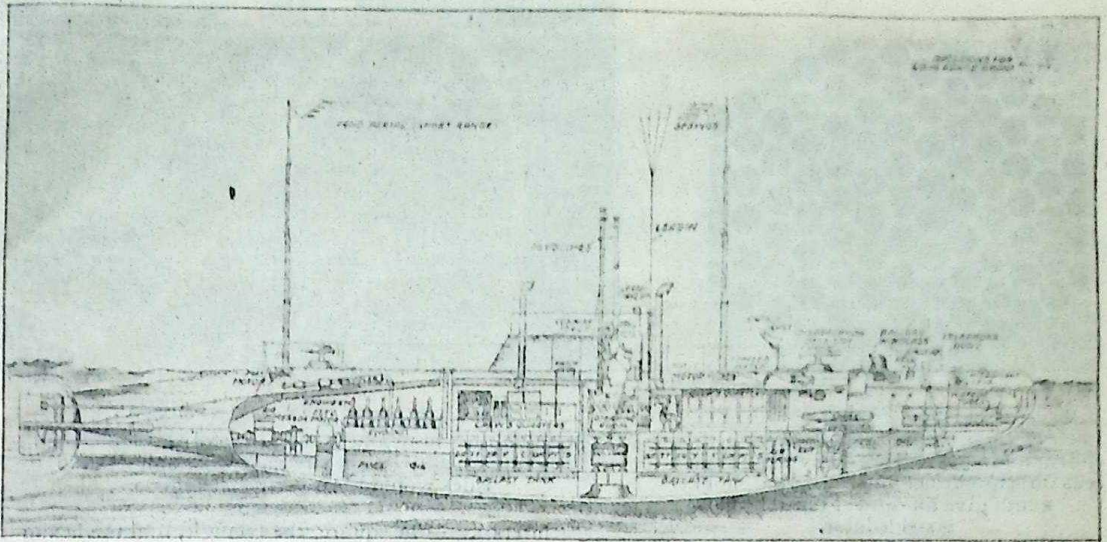
How German "U"-Boats talk a Thousand Miles.

The ingenious devices by which submarines are enabled to send wireless messages a thousand miles are described in *The Electrical Experimenter* (New York). The Germans have been forced, under pressure of dire necessity, to develop sub-marine radio communication to a fine art. The success of the U-boat campaign depends largely on wireless communication with the subsea boats and the transmission of messages from at least some of them to the nearest land base. At first the submarines made use of folding or telescopic masts not more than 20 to 30 feet high. For ordinary inter-communication this served admirably, but where long ranges were to be negotiated, the proper procedure became a problem.

"One of the latest Teutonic improvements in this arm of the naval service is the utilization of balloons for elevating the U-boats' antenna wire to a height of 1,000 feet and more. In this way vast distances can be covered and valuable intelligence sent by radio to a second relay sub-marine if necessary, so that it is not improbable that the news of ships' sailings from American ports could have been radioed to Germany by the aid of three or four U-boats.

"Our illustration . . . shows clearly just how the balloons, two in number and fastened to a rigid equilibrium member, carry up the antenna wire to a height of several thousand feet if necessary. The antenna, at its base, is wound on a special electric-motor-driven drum. This drum is instantly controlled by the throw of a switch, so that if a ship comes into view it can rapidly reel in the balloon antenna and the balloons are taken inside, hatches closed, and the craft submerged—all in almost less time than it takes to tell about it. It is difficult for an enemy ship to see the balloons, as they are cleverly camouflaged, being painted partly white and partly blue, so that against the sky they are practically invisible. The antenna wire is, of course, quite fine and invisible at even a short distance away.

"It has been a mooted question for some time as to just how far such a radio-equipped subsea fighter could send a message. The receiving range with such a balloon-suspended aerial is easily several thousand miles, using modern amplifiers and other refinements in the radio art. With fair weather-conditions, and with the proper radio-transmitting apparatus tuned to a high wave length, it would be possible for the submarine to send a wireless message 2,000 miles, and possibly 3,000 to 4,000 miles under extremely favorable conditions. The transmitting set used might, of course, be a special one rated at 15 to 25 kilowatts. If the subsea boat wanted to transmit an important message, she would in all likelihood choose the night-time. She could then emerge and fly her balloon aerial with reasonable safety. And for a long-range message requiring as much energy as mentioned above it should be remembered that there



SUBMARINE EQUIPPED WITH BALLOON AERIAL FOR LONG-DISTANCE COMMUNICATION.

A sectional view showing the new telescopic collapsible masts supporting the radio antennæ, and motor-driven windlass for reeling balloon wire.

is available all the engine-power required. All that would have to be done would be to connect up the high-capacity dynamo to these engines, and this in turn to the special high-power radio transmitter. Such a set, including the dynamo, would not occupy such a large space as might be imagined off-hand. Also the newer U-boats are veritable submarine-cruisers, several hundred feet in length, which, of course, gives a much greater space for the radio equipment."

The folding and other types of masts for medium and short-range radio-work on the submarine include a telescopic mast patented several years ago by an American, Mr. Joseph Raes. In one type a continuous flexible metal cable is used. When a pull, as produced by a motor, is applied to the lower end it causes all of the sliding telescopic members to rise. In another mast the sections are raised and lowered by gears and shafts.

The author suggests in this connection a pneumatic mast similar in principle to the lifting cranes used in foundries, etc. He goes on:

"An ingenious collapsible radio mast was invented in Germany some years ago, and several of them have been used in this country. It was perhaps the lightest ever designed thus far—possibly too light for submarine requirements—but it possess the element of speed. It employed four flexible strips of metal rolled on drums at the base. These strips were notched on both edges, and when the handle was turned the four notched strips of their steel intermeshed with each other, making a lockcornered square tubular mast about 8 inches square. It was found possible to raise a platform containing two men on it to a height of 80 feet for observation purposes when necessary. Two men could raise the mast in a short time by turning a geared crank handle.

"The accompanying illustration of a modern submarine shows how the various compartments are arranged. It was prepared from official plans of such a craft. The location of the collapsible radio masts is given, as well as the position of the motor-driven switch for hauling in the antenna balloons. An

interesting feature not generally known is that submarines are now fitted with submarine telegraph apparatus which operates by means of sound-waves sent through the water from powerful electric vibrators mounted on the hull of the submarine. Sensitive microphones suitably mounted on either side of the hull enable the commander to tell when a ship is approaching, even at a considerable distance, by the sound of her propellers, which is transmitted through the water.

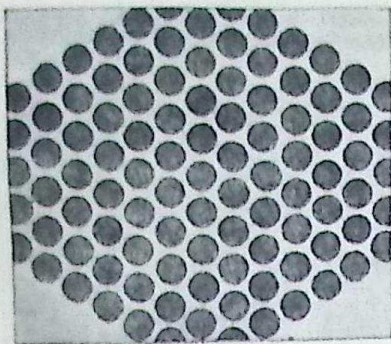
"Then there is the latest safety feature—the telephone buoy. If the submarine should sink and become unmanageable, the crew can pull a lever which releases the telephone buoy, which rises to the surface of the water. Any craft passing in the vicinity of the sunken subsea boat can open this buoy and by means of the telephone inside it, speak to the imprisoned crew. Submarines send out sound-signals of distress through the water also, which may be intercepted by another submarine or by a war-ship or steamer."

—*The Literary Digest.*

Is the Bee a Geometrician?

The wonderful ability of the bee as a practical geometer has been extolled by naturalists time out of mind. How on earth does the "little busy" one manage to construct cells of accurately hexagonal section, which pack perfectly together with no waste space? According to Editor Bigelow, of *The Guide to Nature*, the bee does nothing of the kind. She builds roughly circular cells which, being of plastic wax, assume the hexagonal form when squeezed tightly together. The geometrical wonder here is physical law, and not the brain of the bee. Mr. Bigelow admits that the practical bee-keepers do not agree with this view of the case. They cling to a belief in the bee as a hexagonal geometrician, despite the fact that some of the older standard writers on bee-culture, as quoted by Mr. Bigelow, seem to have entertained practically his opinion. He says in substance:

"In making the comb the honey-bees never work



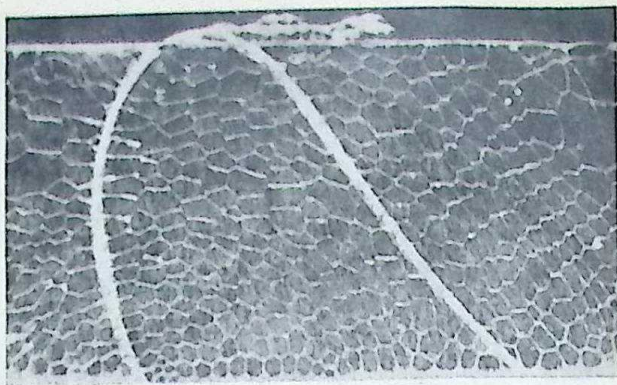
ALL IS NOT HEXAGONAL THAT SEEMS.

Look at these circles with the eyes nearly closed, and you will see why the circular cells on the surface of a growing honeycomb give an optical illusion of six-sidedness.

in hexagons, but always in circles. Poets and philosophers have for ages expressed admiration for the wonderful skill of the bee in making angles and perfect hexagons in their comb-cells. There are two errors in such commendations. First, the bee does not voluntarily make hexagons. The hexagons are the result of physical laws. They have nothing to do with the 'intent' of the bee, nor has the intent of the bee anything to do with them. Secondly, they are not perfect. Careful measurement of the various cells has shown that there is variation, due to difference in the size of adjoining cells. At one time it was thought that there could be no better standard of measurement than these hexagons. The honey-bee deserves not one particle of credit for making a beautiful hexagon. All she does is to make a cylinder of wax, and a mighty crude one at that. Bees in series—that is, one after another—take the little plates of wax secreted from between the body scales and pack them into circles as crude as a child would make when she makes her mud pies. Under the microscope there is here no symmetry nor beauty, but only the crudest kind of work. The bee heaps up these pellets one after another, and the action of a physical law, and that action only, does the rest. She is as little responsible for the hexagonal form as she is for the movements of a planet. Through unthinkable ages honey-bees have been making crude cylinders of wax, but they never yet have been able to make a hexagon, nor to learn how to make one. In making this statement I claim no originality. Long ago Cheshire and Cowan said practically the same thing, but somehow their statements seem to flee from our modern thought of the honeycomb.

"The edge of the honeycomb, built wholly by bees, is never hexagonal nor angular. The side is a curve and the cells immediately on that curve are spherical at their bottom and circular at their rim. All solitary bees work in circles. He that gives the matter consideration will naturally feel that the hexagons of the honey-bee's comb are associated with something beyond and outside of biological law."

In short, Mr. Bigelow asserts, the bee has not learned to make hexagons, but she crowds so much into a little space that the sides of the cells are flattened, and the cells become hexagonal. Only three forms, he reminds us, can be put together without



NOT THE BEE'S PLAN, BUT NATURE'S.

Soap-bubbles blown between pieces of glass lose their circular shape. If the pressure were uniform the sides would form perfect hexagons.

interstices—the square, the triangle, and the hexagon. If the honey-bee could afford space she would make all her cells circular, as she does for the queen, when she takes plenty of room. The cells at the edge of the comb, where there is no pressure, are always circular, never hexagonal. He goes on:

"As pointed out years ago by Cowan, an English investigator, these cells behave mutually like soap-bubbles, which when isolated are round; but if they touch each other the united films form a perfectly flat wall. If there are many, those in the center will be hexagonal, while those on the outside will have their free sides curved."

"After the bees have manipulated the wax they press it down in a crowded, irregular mass, which, under a microscope, looks about like a mass of mortar slumped off from the hod of the carrier. Then the bees scoop out the wax into little holes, and that scooping manifests itself as vestigial, circumstantial evidence in the pittings all over the queen-bee cell which give it its peanut-shell roughness. Regarding this Cowan says:

"As the wax is scooped out it is put on the side walls, which are thereby thickened, and give the mouth of the cell a circular form, in all stages of its progress. Many cells are found into which a bee cannot enter, but as the wax is always added to the top edge she has only to work down inside a very little way, and we presume she does much in the same way that a bricklayer would do when building a chimney from the outside, into which he could not introduce his whole body."

"But the bee is a scraper, as is the mason when he builds a chimney or makes a cement-and-stone wall. She keeps piling up the end of a cylinder and then constantly goes into her cylinder and scrapes the sides to make them thin. It is this going in that does the hexagonal work and is the exact equivalent of what I did when I prest a solid on the soap-bubbles. She does more than scrape. Her body is covered with hair, even feathers one might almost call them when they are viewed under a microscope. She is like a gun-swab, and when she pushes into that cell she pushes out the sides. If there is only one cell, as in the case of the queen-bee cell, the pushing out of the sides makes a cylinder, but there are other bees making other cells, and they are close to this, and it is this pressure on the sides, with not the slightest intent nor skill on the bee's part,

but purely the effect of a mathematical law, that makes the hexagon. As Cheshire told us years ago, 'The geometrical relations which embellish the wax tracery of the bee are the necessary result of her mode of proceeding. And mathematics is no more her endowment than it is that of the soap and water we have been considering. These wonders come because the whole creation is founded and sustained by the great Geometer, whose laws of weight and measure neither falter nor vary, so that, for the advantage of man, the experience and observation of the past make him the prophet of the future.' And Cheshire proceeds to make it perfectly plain that a single cell made by a honey-bee is always circular. The queen cell is an example of this. 'It is circular—the typical form—in cross-section, because it is built alone, and is made to grow with the growth of the grub it contains.'

"If a number of wax cups, such as are supplied by the manufacturers for queen-cell starters, are placed compactly together and then warmed until the wax is plastic, and into each one of these is thrust a small circular brush, so as to push out the interior, the cups will, by the pressure of the brush, become hexagonal in outline.

"The optical-illusion hexagons on the surface of any growing honeycomb disappear the moment they are examined with eyes wide open. Take a collection of circular dots, or look at the ends of a pile of lead-pencils with the eyes partly closed and looking through the eyelashes, and immediately they all become hexagonal. The appearance is really all owing to imperfect eyes. It is an optical illusion. All growing honeycomb held at a distance or reduced by photography will show the thing dimly. Examine the comb with clear, strong light and under a pocket lens of an inch focus, and every one of those hexagons will vanish and the comb will become a plane of circles.

"I have examined hundreds of specimens of natural honeycomb made wholly by the beginning of artificial comb foundation, from the moment when the first masticated particle of wax was placed on the ridge, but without a single exception I have found that the bees worked circularly or spherically. In such cases, like comb built between the top of the frame where there is room for only one or two rows of cells, or on the edge of the honeycomb next to the attachment to the wood, the cells invariably are circular in outline."

The contention that bees make circular cells, which afterward become roughly hexagonal by mutual pressure, upheld by Edward F. Bigelow, has not met with universal acceptance. E. C. Heffaker is of opinion that the argument that hollow cylinders under lateral pressure tend to take on hexagonal forms and that the hexagonal cells of the bee are produced in the same way, was long since advanced by Buffon, and long since found to be fallacious. At no point in the course of their construction, he goes on to assert, do the cells of the bee take the form of cylinders with intervening spaces, making their change of form through compression possible; while, on the other hand, the necessary lateral pressure is wholly lacking. He proceeds:

"Mr. Bigelow assumes that, because the thickened margins of the cells are often roughly circular, the cells were originally cylindrical. No assumption could be further from the facts. The interior of the cell is at all points truly hexagonal in section; and as bees do not at all times, nor usually, work in

contiguous cells, the mechanical effect, so far as it is effective, would be to transform the hexagon into a circle rather than the reverse.

"But the astounding wonder in the architecture of the bee does not lie in the hexagonal form of the cells, but in the arrangement by which the cells on opposite sides of the comb are joined together at their bases. Each cell terminates in a low triangular pyramid formed by the intersection of three rhombs, or parallelograms, with equal sides and having angles of $109^{\circ} 28'$ and $70^{\circ} 32'$ respectively. Now a long while ago a celebrated mathematician named König, without having been informed what repeated measurements had shown these angles to be, was asked by Miraldi to determine what they should be to give the greatest capacity for the least amount of comb, and the figures which he returned were $109^{\circ} 26'$ and $70^{\circ} 34'$. As the result differed by but two minutes from the measurements made by Miraldi it was concluded that the bee was not only a finished architect, but a wonderful mathematician as well. Later it was found that the bee was right and that König was wrong, an error having been made in his original calculations.....

"Scarcely less wonderful is the instinct by which the bees working on opposite sides of the newly formed comb are enabled to so place the cells that each axis on one side shall exactly coincide with the intersection of three cells on the opposite side, with many bees working at the same time on different parts of the comb.

"The manner in which this is accomplished is no less wonderful. The bees on one side of the new comb dig a vertical channel and those on the opposite side two, one on either side of the first, and so accurately spaced that the axes of the cells on one side shall exactly correspond to the intersection of the walls on the other. And all in the dark.

"These are facts known to every one who has made a study of bees."

The editor of *The American Bee Journal* has this to say on the subject:

"The bees build their cells with the least expenditure of costly material, beeswax. Economy requires that the cells be built so as to fit closely to each other, and the six-sided shape is the most economical. On the other hand, the surface of the cells must be strong enough to carry the bees in their travels, so the bees make a heavier rim at the surface. When we uncap the sealed honeycombs we destroy the strength of the upper edge and uncover the hexagonal shape. But the bees, as soon as the comb is returned to them, hasten to give it the stronger surface by rounding the tops of the cells.

"Foundation mills used to be manufactured with a rounded cell. The Dunham mill, which was so popular thirty-five years ago, made foundation with round cells. But the bees always excavated the surplus wax from the three-cornered angles and used it in other parts of the comb. So, after all, comb foundation with hexagonal cell-walls is not an error.

"But that the hexagons of the cells are not always perfect does not admit of a doubt. Neither need we doubt that, if the bees had plenty of material, they would probably build all their cells round, for their bodies are round."

On the other hand; in a later issue of his magazine, *The Guide to Nature*, Mr. Bigelow quotes letters from twenty-three physicists, zoologists, and agriculturists, expressing agreement with his opinions.

—*The Literary Digest*.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF MDLLE. BARON).

IT is a common belief that Peter the Great founded a new Russia; that he brought to her all that Europe had discovered and formed her into an Empire on which the sun never sets; that it is to him Russia owes all her greatness.

In reality, however, all that he brought back after his stay in England and Holland was the art of building boats that could navigate the Russian rivers and the convenient way which the Dutch had of heating their houses. Like an Eastern potentate he was so much above others that there was nothing for him to envy or imitate. So he did not deign to transplant the refinements and splendours of the French Court, but came back to his country, if anything, rougher and coarser than when he left it.

What chiefly impressed him were the German ideas, so much so that he drew Germans to Russia in crowds, allowing them to penetrate deeply into the country, dominating the schools, and even the court. For this there was a special reason. During one of his visits to Germany the Tsar Peter with his suite stayed the night at a village inn, where he noticed a young and pretty servant girl who, attentive, observant and with a rare activity and skill, charmed the illustrious traveller. Peter, with his habitually crude reasoning, came to the conclusion that a woman who could manage her everyday affairs so cleverly would no doubt be well able to help him to regulate those of the State. Whereupon without further formalities he took the girl to Russia and married her there. She became Catherine I.

We have heard of kings who have married beggar maids and thereby afforded food for romance. But in the maid of the inn whom Peter raised to share his throne there turned out to be only a practical woman who knew how to rule her husband. Hence the predominance of German ideas in Russia. She was so clever in her methods and had so great an influence over

Peter that she led him to dictate the will which proved the curse of his country. The principal clause of this will was that Petersburg should henceforth be the capital of the Russian Empire and that the Tsarina of all the Russias should always be chosen from among the German Princesses.

These directions came to be scrupulously carried out because, though the Russian is impulsive and brutal he entirely lacks foresight. Most of the men in power failed to realise where this would lead them. Those who had the intelligence to foresee the future kept silence as good courtiers should. Thus things were left to drift towards their destiny.

Petersburg, situated as it is at the mouth of the Neva, close to Finland, Russia's enemy, with neighbours who took no interest in Russian affairs, fell an easy prey to Germany, and was inundated both with the latter's ideas and products. Under German influence Russia passed through a strange evolution in her manner of life, which was also to be seen reflected in her Art. Byzantine gave Russia her religion and the perfect Byzantine taste should have dominated in the churches. Instead of this the loud heavy German style imposed itself upon the oriental, giving rise to an odd mixture. It was the same with the soul of Russia. The people, childlike and wild, succumbed indiscriminately to those who directly or indirectly became their rulers and educators.

The result was unfortunate enough among the lower and middle classes; it was worse as regards the court and aristocracy, the terrible depravity of the Russian Empresses, chosen according to Peter's will from Germany, is well known; and they seemed to have bequeathed to each other traditions of the greatest perversity. It is curious to reflect that while Queen Alexandra gave to the court of Great Britain a rare example of true womanliness and modesty, her sister the Empress Marie Feodorovna, wife of the brutal Alexander III gave free reign to all

her impulses and the Russian court has never shown less restraint or been the centre of baser intrigues than when she was in power. Of this the Russo-Japanese war has furnished us with abundant proofs.

The outstanding factors leading to the war are briefly as follows. The Grand Dukes, those curses of the Empire, claimed rights over the vast forest stretches of Korea. Japan, which also had designs with regard to that country, contested these rights. This was the time when ceaseless intrigues were going on in the court of Petrograd between the supporters of Marie Feodorovna the Dowager Empress on the one side, and those of her daughter-in-law the Tsarina, on the other. The latter was detested by her mother-in-law an ambitious and despotic woman, from whom, of course, she had taken away all direct power. The Tsar, torn between his mother and his wife, and always a weak man, did not know which way to turn. The Tsarina had not been able to make herself loved by her new country, and not having provided an heir to the throne found herself a prey to countless attacks and annoyances. The Dowager, whose conduct like that of Catherine the Great, did not bear inspection, had several inconvenient witnesses to it, of whom she wished to rid herself. There were also generals whom she desired to help in their advancement. In short though the intentions of the Japanese were quite plain, these court distractions prevented anything being done to protect the country. The situation resembled that in France in 1870.

On the declaration of war Russia summoned up some little enthusiasm from her pride. "Little Japan daring to attack Great Russia! and Holy Russia! Could there be greater audacity! Those yellow monkeys would be swallowed up in one mouthful!" (Sic.)

I must mention as regards ourselves, that we, teachers living in Russia who had been able to judge the situation clearly, had no doubts as to the results of the war. We had not even a momentary illusion and the result proved us right.

The greater part of the Russian people understood nothing of the war. They only regarded it as brutal aggression on the part of Japan. But the true causes of the war did not escape the cultured minority

and they had no wish to be the tools of the grand dukes or to carry out the caprices of the empress mother. Three thousand two hundred young men went into exile rather than serve under the flag.

Much could be said about this war, but it would lead me too far. It is certain that while the armies of the Tsar were being beaten on the field of battle, the grand dukes grew rich in Russia in the most disgraceful ways. Public enthusiasm grew cold before the disasters that could not all be attributed to a want of care on the part of the generals. Many of these latter were brave men and kind to their soldiers; the admirals also did their duty, but they were allowed no initiative. Those who were protected in high places did as they pleased and sent off wild telegrams, on which the authorities at Petersburg relied and acted, although the senders knew nothing of the field of battle or the positions of the ships. Admirals cried like children, for they knew that they were going to shame and death. They saw what they could have done to avert all this. But they must obey. Many died the deaths of brave and desperate men.

Amongst the more intelligent the discontent grew daily greater. During the time spent in camp and also the school holidays in Russia, the young intellectuals taught the soldiers and the peasants. These latter, understanding at last for what causes they were being sent so far from home to be killed, refused to fight. They fired in the air when they stood face to face with the Japanese, they sold their kit as they marched along; they threw their rifles out of the windows of the railway carriages as they passed over the rivers.

I have seen all this with my own eyes to show their contempt for the government; ladies gave flowers to the Japanese prisoners at every station where the troop trains stopped.

During this unhappy war, the revolution of 1905 broke out. It paved the way for the one that is now raging.

I should say something here about the writers who influenced the younger generation and led them to think of progress and reform. The chief amongst them were Lermontoff, Pouchkine, Tourguenief, Dostoevski, Maximè Gorki and Tolstoi. The first mentioned confined themselves chiefly to fiction and to allegories full of ideas on reform, others described more especially

the depravity of the Russian aristocracy. Maxime Gorki painted the wretched state of the working classes. Each new book excited the young men more and more.

Tolstoi, was at first the most influential. He spoke with such ardour, that he seemed to understand the soul of the people, and all the sufferings of humanity. He became an idol, but the worship did not last long. The feet of clay were soon visible, and the people quickly realised how little his fine words agreed with his real life. The aristocrat gave up none of his privileges, and his pride shewed itself in many ways. He was inconstant to his profession of faith and his writings verged on incoherence.

As he grew older Tolstoi continually changed his opinions. He thought that he had done a great deal and that he had brought himself in touch with the people by dressing as a moujik and making a pair of boots. It was Peter the Great with his boat, all over again! He strongly advocated the sharing of properties but did he share his? He was a despot in his family, and wished to impose all his opinions on his own people, and force them to live according to his ideas, which were always changing. The more advanced among the younger men soon rejected him. He no longer received any consideration at their hands. He is the true type of the Russian—impulsive, inconsistent and mutable as the waves of the sea.

All these writers had, then, led the youth of the schools and universities towards new ideas. In one sense they had acted on them as Voltaire and Rousseau on France in the eighteenth century.

In order to explain the motives underlying the movement of 1905, the aims of the younger generation must be briefly stated.

The people had suffered so long under harsh tyrants, that they were ready to follow any one who would lead them to something new. The young men moreover, who attended the large universities, did not find what they desired in the education they received there. Most of the professors, submissive to the sacrosanct bureaucracy found ways of constantly opposing their pupils—for any act of revolt, trivial or otherwise, they closed the schools and the students lost the results of years of study, to their great detriment. Amongst the richer classes there were many merchants' sons. They could become

doctors, engineers, and lawyers, but they could only obtain very unimportant posts under government. Many of them would have liked to enter the army, but the higher grades there were closed to them. These were reserved for the sons of noblemen and the upper middle classes. They protested, but in vain.

The discontented always drift together, and these formed a kind of league with the Poles. This race lived in a kind of perpetual excitement,—often thinking themselves more persecuted than was really the case. There were also the Jews, who formed the most intelligent part of the population. The Russian, however, is above all a fanatic and the religious classes still retain the spirit of the middle ages with regard to Jews. These latter are hard-working and they had a keen desire for education, but the high schools and universities would only admit a very small percentage of them. Moreover no Jew had the right to live for more than ten years in the same town. However firmly his family was established, however prosperous his business might be, when the fatal term arrived, he must go. One can imagine the terrible breaking of ties and hatred that this system caused. None the less, the Jews were loyal subjects. All through the war, they and the Poles fought the best. They hoped by these means to touch the heart of the Tsar and obtain favour for their race; but they were not successful.

The sufferings of the people increased during the war. Things became so dear and so difficult to obtain that the workmen found it hard to support their families. The heads of the revolutionary party determined to persuade them to try a peaceful appeal to the Tsar. Led by Pope Gapon, in whom they trusted at that time, the workmen from the factories of Portilloff, and those from other workshops, marched with their wives, one February morning to the Winter Palace in order to set their demands before the Tsar and tell him of their suffering. Was he not the father of the people?

The crowd were unarmed, and sang hymns as they marched. Gapon was in front, cross in hand. The Tsar as everyone knows, not only refused to receive these delegates, but that he caused them to be fired upon. The square opposite the Winter Palace was covered with corpses,

and the rest of the manifesters, or rather the suppliants were chased by the Cossacks with their terrible "*nagaikas*".

When the news of this dreadful butchery spread over all the towns in the empire, a cry of horror rose from all—the bureaucrats of course excepted. If at that juncture there had been perfect unity in Russia, and a revolt had broken out everywhere at once, we should never have had to witness those terrible scenes that are now shocking the whole world. Moscow, Odessa, Kiet, Varsoni and several other towns revolted, but it was not enough. Troops were sent down and there was a terrible reaction. At Dosen, in particular, the massacres were horrible. The Government required a pretext to justify these excessive acts of repression—it was easily found. The Jews, always the Jews! Entirely disregarding their admirable behaviour during the war, their loyalty and the devotion to duty shown by their doctors, the police, in obedience to orders from high officials, fomented revolts in order to be able to organize their abominable "*pogroms*".

This time it was too much. Seeing that nothing had been gained by straightforward methods and patience, the workmen of the factories and the large workshops went on strike throughout the whole of Russia. For more than two months each Russian town was isolated like an island lost in the middle of the sea. Not a train, not a post—no work of any kind. All was in a state of siege. The offices were guarded by soldiers. Men were shot and flogged on the slightest pretext. The normal course of life was stopped. No letters, no news except that brought by some brave souls who facing great hardships went over the frozen rivers in sledges, from town to town carrying it. The Government at Petersburg at last realized that it must come to terms. One fine morning the bells from all the churches rang out joyously to announce that a constitution had at last been drawn up for the empire. A *Duma*, charged to defend the interests of the nation, was to be instituted. It was a mirage,—it was too good to last! How could the aristocracy stoop so low as to work with the people, with those inferior beings, up till now absolutely subject to their will! It could not be—the joy caused by this proclamation was not unmixed—the people were

suspicious—but they wished to profit by this era of tranquility that seemed to have come to them. It was welcome after all their unhappiness!

It may interest you to hear how the day passed on which the great hope—the great illusion—was born. It was the same all over the empire.

I was then living at Ufa, on the slopes of the Urals—if not the most, at least one of the most revolutionary towns in Russia. Its governors were killed one after the other, with an unequalled enthusiasm. It was on the road to Siberia, near the mountains, and the large forests, and thus those who carried out the decrees of the revolutionary committee had every facility for escape.

I gave lessons amongst people who belonged to very different political parties. They included the highest government officials—naturally very reactionary in their views, the wife of the president of the revolutionary committee, and a young Countess Tolstoi, a niece of the writer.

The workmen were on strike, as all over the country. A terrible fusillade broke out every evening as soon as it grew dark. The town was in a state of permanent siege.

On the morning of that historic day, I arrived very early at the house of the president of the revolutionary committee, to give his wife her lesson. I found her very much excited.

"I cannot have a lesson to-day," she said, "the men on strike are going to march through the principal streets of the town, to lay their claims before the governor—I shall join them."

"I should like to go with you," said I.

"Certainly, with pleasure; but I warn you that I shall march with the men and if there is any disturbance, I shall be in it!"

"I want to see everything from inside, I pleaded. "I will follow you."

"Very well, come along."

And we set off. In all the quarters through which we passed, there was not a soul and a death-like silence reigned. We felt that the drama was about to develop. The strikers must have been more than two thousand, not counting the crowd who accompanied them. We were surprised at not hearing the sound of this multitude on the march. Suddenly we saw people running in the opposite direction. We were still more puzzled. Then

the bells rang out. We were bewildered! Just then a lady who knew my pupil came up to us, and kissed us, with tears in her eyes.

"We have a constitution at last," she cried.

"Yes," said another who had followed her, "and it is now being read at the Zemstva."

"The Zemstva, my husband's office," said my pupil. "Quick, quick, let us go there."

It was some way off, and there was not a carriage to be seen. We started out again walking, and reached the office just as a man standing on a table finished the reading of the document, and began to harangue the assembly. The expression of the faces raised towards him, was worth seeing. As he stopped, the whole crowd in formidable unison shouted "An amnesty, an amnesty."

"Brothers," cried the husband of my pupil, "the governor must be reading this constitution from the balcony of the palace, let us join the crowd, and be united in the peace that has come to us."

Everyone set out. We passed before schools, and the crowd snatched up the children and took them on. On the steps of a big girls' school they stopped, and in a vibrating voice all that mass of people chanted the terrible Russian Marseillaise, beside which our French Marseillaise is but a tender song for young girls.

We were near the place where the two crowds must meet to go to the governor's palace. I looked at my watch and said to my pupil—"I must leave you, I have another lesson to give."

"You are mad!" she replied. "Who will take lessons to-day?"

"Never mind," said I. "Since they have not let me know, I had better go there. If they do not want me I will come back."

I saw that she was displeased and that she thought I was afraid to join the strikers. As a matter of fact, the lesson was to the young Countess Tolstoi. On reaching her house, I found her dressing to go out.

"O surely you don't think I could have a lesson today," she cried. "I am going to join the crowd."

"What a fine declaration of faith your uncle has made," I said.

"Do you think so? I don't. The old man is mad!"

"I admire your respect for your family," I replied laughing.

We parted in the street. I wished to rejoin my first pupil. After walking for some time, I met her coming out of a chemist's shop, pale and angry, covered with blood. This is what had happened. The governor and the head of the police, knowing that the men on strike were to come to the government house, had ordered out troops to bar the road and to stop them by force. Once the constitution had been granted, this was unnecessary as the movement became pacific. This display of force was likely to provoke the people. The governor should have withdrawn it, or at least forbidden the soldiers to use their arms. He was, however, careful to do nothing of the kind. When the strikers and the crowd arrived, they were received at the point of the bayonet. Several were seriously wounded, and one of them fell into the arms of my pupil. She took him to the nearest chemist. The crowd was indignant at this treachery that recalled the ambush in the Winter Palace at Petrograd. A serious riot was imminent, but several persons devoted themselves to explain to the soldiers that they had been deceived and that no one wished the governor any harm. On the contrary they desired to hear what he was going to read to the people in the name of the Tsar. The soldiers had only waited for this to fraternize with the crowd, and they all went together to the palace which was quite close. Furious, however, and rightly so at the bad faith that had been shewn them, the people determined on revenge, and took it in a quiet but determined way. Just as the governor, papers in hand, appeared on his balcony, they made him come down, and led him to the public gardens. It was there, under the red flag, that he was forced to read the words of the Emperor to his subjects, and to hear the Marseillaise and the revolutionary song. It made him ill, and he was recalled.

I could tell you of other episodes, fiercer than this, that occurred, and increased the hate of the people for the reactionary party, and shewed them the falsity of the promises made by the Tsar and his government but it would take too long.

Let us now consider why the revolutionary movement of 1905 had no result. It was because it was chiefly a revolt of the lower middle classes, the students and

the proletariat. The peasants had little to do with it. For to these men, ignorant and illiterate and, to put it plainly, drunkards, the Tsar was always the Little Father, who had come straight from God as His representative to His people. The students had certainly tried to teach the moujik and enlighten him, but he had been too long inured to suffering. With the usual fatalism of the Russian, he made no attempt to break free from his bonds. But the words of the students eventually bore fruit.

Alexander II was well advised when he decided to free his people and to liberate the serfs. It seemed that Russia was to be happy at last. If he had lived he would have seen that his work was not complete and that the evil had perhaps increased. Doubtless his keen intelligence would have found some remedy for this. But the Russian does not reason,—as I have already said, he is impulsive and brutal. The nihilists were then at the height of their enthusiasm. They were not satisfied with the reforms of their ruler. A bomb flung at the carriage of the Tsar as he was leaving his palace, destroyed the life that might perhaps have been so deeply useful to the country.

The peasants were now in possession of their liberty. No one had the right of life and death over them—it is true. But when they had been dependent on masters, who were often very harsh, at least they and their families were kept from want. The wretched little allotments of land that were given them after the emancipation, were not sufficient. There were also the taxes, the village dues, the extortions of the priest, and the persecutions of their old masters. They grew poorer and poorer, and at one time it seemed that a Jacquerie was imminent. There were partial revolts and risings, so harshly suppressed that the people bore anything, rather than risk torture and exile. They gave up the struggle, and sank back again into complete ignorance and indifference.

This wretched state of things was carefully kept up by the bureaucracy, to whose interest it turned. They were powerfully aided by the monopoly of Vodka—that terrible Russian brandy. They drove the moujik to drink—first because this increased the State revenues, and then because when he was drunk, he was no longer to be feared. The intellectuals understood

this well, and they suffered in the debasement of their fellow countrymen. They did all they could to instruct the peasants, but the task was hard. The old cult of the Tsar, the submission to the priest, and the web of superstition—all these had to be combated, in order to raise the moujiks from their age-long degradation. For if it was to be successful the revolution must have the help of the army, and this army though recruited for the most part from among these moujiks, was commanded by the nobility. The soldiers must, therefore, have the courage to rise against their chiefs.

Now in 1905 alcohol had been too powerful and education not widely enough spread in country districts. But after the disastrous results of the war, the soldier who had seen his comrades die around him without even realizing why they had been sent so far from home, was more enlightened. He took an interest in these Dumas, that followed each other so rapidly and he learned to disbelieve the false promises of the man he had formerly revered as a god. The harsh repression exercised on those who had been compromised in February 1905—the treacherous denunciations,—the imprisonments in the fortress Peter and Paul, and in the horrible dungeons of Schlussembourg, the deportations to Siberia and the cruel treatment of the exiles (especially of the women) during their severe journey, by a soldiery chosen from the most brutal and detested classes,—all this at last opened the eyes of the peasant.

The students gradually found their work easier, and understood that the end was nearer. Finally, in this present war, the soldiers seeing that they were led to slaughter without proper arms or ammunition, did their duty bravely, but during the forced inaction in the trenches, in the discussions where the more educated could teach the ignorant, all these classes thrown together, resolved to crush, once and for all, this oppression.

While they were fighting in the frozen marshes of Poland, ill-fed and ill-equipped, a careless Tsar and a mad Tsarina at Petrograd let matters slip into the hands of those who only desired the triumph of Germany. The Tsarina faithful to the traditions of the Russian empresses, gave herself up in every way to the infamous influence of Rasputin. This is the most hideous page in Russian history. Religion

and morality were alike involved in the scandal, joined to a shameful political policy. It brought about the end.

The Russian people in sheer disgust at the state of affairs and weary of suffering, united at last in the sentiment of their rights and a consciousness of their legitimate ambitions, rose all together and drove out the puppets who had too long abused their power to the detriment of their subjects. They were sent in their turn to Siberia—the rulers for whom so many wretches had died in putrid jails, deadly mines, and icy steppes.

Delivered at last from her tyrants, Russia seemed to be about to breathe freely and to turn to all that is noble and good. But the evil was still too deeply rooted to be so quickly cured. Revolutions that are to form a new nation, do not take place in one day.

What is now happening in Russia, is exactly what happened in France at the end of the eighteenth century. Russian revolutionaries have often said to me: "O your revolution was nothing: wait for ours!"

They were wrong, the two are alike. The founding of the Duma, the various difficulties it passed through before being definitely established, are an exact repetition of the "Assemblée Constituante." I believe, the same words were pronounced there in 1906. When the guards attempted to turn the members of the Duma out of the palace Tauride, where a sitting was being held, the latter replied—"We are here by the will of the people, we can only be turned out by force of arms."

The taking of the Bastille? Look at the capture of the fortress Peter and Paul, and of the sinister dungeons of Schlussembourg, worse than any Bastille in the world, and only to be compared to the cells of the Spanish inquisition. The reign of terror that now holds sway in Russia is that of Robespierre in France. The sack of towns and castles—they are common to both revolutions. Perhaps—who knows—the Guillotine will finally be set up in the land of the Tsars. The Russian people have suffered longer than the French, their vengeance will be longer and more terrible.

There is, however, one evil in Russia from which we were spared. The men of the French revolution, whatever their mistakes, always had at the bottom of their hearts, the purest patriotism and the

most ardent love of their country. They desired a France great and respected both at home and abroad. Whilst the emigrés and the dying monarchy were appealing to the foreigner to come to their help, the revolutionaries decreed an appeal to arms in these simple words—*The country is in danger*. Men of all ages and ranks hastened to enroll themselves under the flag. The impulse was superb: the enthusiasm magnificent. The Marseillaise in all its first freshness electrified the crowds, and ill-dressed, ill-fed and shoeless they went to battle to defend the France that Bonaparte was soon to raise to glory before the eyes of an astonished world. These men moreover interested themselves in science. Nothing was indifferent to them. They set the finances right, established the metric system and reached the greatest intellectual heights. How did all this go on at the same time, and yet succeed? Because France through all the centuries has remained one. There has been no foreign imprint. The genius of the race has remained intact throughout the ages. In Russia, on the contrary, the nation is composed of heterogeneous elements, very often little fitted to understand each other. The tyranny that weighed upon the people, naturally made them confound Tsarism with their country itself. It is for this reason, that in this vast land, patriotism has never shone with so bright a flame.

The will of Peter the Great brought his people under the yoke of Germany. It has had the most fatal results on this nation, forcibly brought together by the chances of conquest, and passively submitted to the most autocratic government the world has ever seen. Although the Russian is brutal, he has no strength of character and no constancy in his ideas. He can act on impulse, but it does not last. He needs a master, but does he know how to choose one? Does there exist a man who can save Russia, and who will be able to snatch her from the claws of Germany? She has need of the man who regenerated France, and who seems to have foreseen the present events, with his eagle glance. Only a man of that calibre could restore the "morale" of the Russian people, and give force and greatness to the country. We can only desire him for this unhappy people, who have betrayed and abandoned the noble cause. Perhaps, however, they

are not entirely responsible. They have suffered so much for century, and no one has ever understood them or been able to give them any lasting help.

PRAMILA CHAUDHURI

THE TRADE IN VICE IN INDIAN CITIES: CAUSES AND REMEDIES

NOWHERE are the evils of economic and social settlement more glaring in the country than in the social phenomena of prostitution and traffic in minor girls of our urban life. Nowhere else is there manifest such a disparity between old conditions and new, but nowhere again is a shrinking acceptance of the social situation as 'inevitable,' as 'an outcome of human nature' more calculated to retard social advancement than here. The evil is alarmingly increasing and there is no cry for remedy for what is conceived to be 'a settled fact' in human and social psychology. And yet in Indian urban life the evil is associated with certain unnatural economic and social conditions and circumstances, and their removal in a scheme of well-conceived and boldly executed civic and social enterprise will imply a control and even an arrest of the evil.

The statistics of prostitution of our two main cities Calcutta and Bombay are really appalling. The total number of prostitutes in Calcutta and suburbs is 16,000. Among women aged 20 to 40, one in every twelve is a woman of ill fame. No figures can be given for the female servants and cooks who lead an immoral life, though their number is known to be not inconsiderable. It should be added that no less than 1,096 girls under 10 years of age are dependent on prostitutes, and they are to be assumed as being brought up to the life of shame. It should also be pointed out that the majority of these girls are not the children of the women with whom they live but have been purchased or deluded by these latter. The houses of ill-fame are managed by women who have agents in different districts who furnish them with fresh victims. These girls are given separate rooms for which they pay exorbitant rents, and from little advances of money, food, clothing or ornaments the manager and his procurers come to obtrude like octo-

puses their suckered limbs slowly and surely for the regulation of the details of their life from which there is no escape. This is especially true of the lower class of women who live in *bustis*, paying rents or yielding a net profit to their keepers. In this transaction there are all the characteristic classes, the capitalist or land-lord, the labourer who is paid in advance or gets wages, and the exploiting middleman or procurer, but what are purchased or sold are not goods and wares, but the souls of our people, and their bodies which are exhibited in the streets as goods in the market place. And when once in the market-place they will always be there. Unemployment and starvation will come; but this market, this exchange and this traffic in minor girls are still growing in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay. In Bombay the spread of venereal diseases is alarming. In Calcutta also the danger is not less. The number of still-births 1,101 or one out of every 17 births is very high. Ordinarily in western countries under the prevailing conditions of domestic life and of marriage, such an excess of still-births would lead to a suspicion of a widespread syphilitic taint among the people; and this is the conclusion which has found favour with one sanitary authority. But in India under the conditions of infant marriage and repeated lactation and child births in conditions of relative immaturity, this rate of still-births cannot be accepted as establishing the taint in question until and unless direct evidences are forthcoming from medical investigations and hospital records. In this connection some light may be thrown by the relative rates of admission to military hospitals of Indian and British soldiers respectively for treatment for the venereal diseases. Venereal diseases are nearly 8 to 10 times as prevalent among European as among native troops.*

* Vide Imperial Gazetteer, chapter On the Army.

In Bengal there were 69,681 patients treated for venereal diseases in 1914; 71,032 in 1915; and 77,998 in 1916; of whom 16,575, 14,648 and 18,459 attended the Calcutta institutions including the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, Alipore, and 53,106, 56,384, and 59,539 were treated in the mufassil hospitals and dispensaries. It is impossible to say whether the increased attendance is due to an increase in the number of venereal patients in the province or to greater readiness in coming for treatment to the public hospitals. But there is some reason to believe that venereal diseases are on the increase. They are naturally most prevalent in large cities and towns, and in rural areas they are more prevalent in those places which are in most frequent communication with the towns.* And yet it is not the Indian cities which ought to be blamed especially for the social evil. The number of prostitutes in Calcutta is 16,000. This, indeed, does not compare unfavourably with the European cities.

Cities.	Total Population.	Number of Prostitutes.
New-York	4,014,000	40,000
Berlin	2,033,000	40,000
Paris	2,714,000	50,000
London	4,654,000	90,000
Calcutta	1,043,300	16,000

But the fact that some big western cities are in a worse condition does not make our moral condition enviable or desirable. We ought to analyse the causes of prostitution in the city as a means of analysing how the evil can be met. The real cause of prostitution lies not in the girls who fall but in the economic and social conditions which make the fall easy. In the mills women work long hours for small wages and in the company of lewd men, who live away from their families in a bad environment; they are lured to vice by the lack of money or the desire for money. Where homes are distracted by wants and give no enjoyment, and streets are the only refuge, where the social system encourages only an one-sided morality and education fails to cope with the demands of human nature, distress and temptation are grave menaces to

purity and chastity. In Calcutta the analysis of the population throws great light on the social problem.

The most noticeable feature of the population of Calcutta is the large proportion of the immigrants. Calcutta is the birth-place of only three-tenths of its residents, and one-tenth come from places in the 24-Parganas. A special return prepared of the ages and occupations of twenty-six large and representative castes among the immigrant population yields some interesting information bearing on this question. The aggregate number dealt with is 290,000, and of the districts from which they are drawn 9 are in Bengal, 9 in Bihar and Orissa, 4 in the United Provinces, and 2 in Rajputana. The figures are to be taken as typical of the immigrant population. There are only 2 female to every 5 male immigrants; over two-thirds of the latter* are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers, and their number is equal to one-seventh of the women of adult age. Altogether only 15 p.c. of both sexes are under 15 years. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults, i.e., aged 15 to 40: at this age-period there are three males to every female.*

Among some immigrants the disproportion between the sexes is very great. Thus among the Khandait who number 9,786, the number of females per 1,000 males is as follows:—

All ages.	15 to 20.	20 to 40.	40 and over.
31	22	24	37

Thus between 15 to 40 there is nearly 1 female per every 20 males. Among Hindu immigrants there are only 2 women to every 4 men, while among the Muhammedan immigrants there is only one woman to every 5 men. It is this lack of women in adult age that bears a great responsibility for prostitution.†

* O'Malley—Census of the City of Calcutta, 1911.

† Triennial Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries, 1914, 1915, 1916, by Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards.

‡ This disparity in the numbers of the two sexes should not monopolise the sociologists' attention, as in fact it has not. Even if the housing conditions in our cities were of an ideal character and all workers were in a pecuniary position to live with their families, the married men with their wives and the married women with their husbands, the situation would improve but partially. The sociologist would still have to consider the case of the childless widows of

Employment and service attract men from Bengal and from India generally but they cannot come with their families, for there is a chronic house-famine in Calcutta. The workmen, who form about 75 p. c. of the population, can afford but single rooms in slums and chawls where they eat and sleep and propagate; while the lower middle classes live in messes or partitioned houses and do not ordinarily bring their families with them. The class of population which brings its women-folk to Calcutta is settling in the suburbs,* and not in the centre of Calcutta; in the centre we tend to have a population of single men, of the ever-increasing crowd of labourers and traders who visit Calcutta only temporarily. The increase of population from 1901-1911 in Manicktola, Garden Reach, and Cossipore-Chitpur amounted to 32,000 males and 20,000 females:—figures which contrast strongly with those for Calcutta, where the increase was 38,000 males and only 4,300 females.

It is clear that the drift of an unstable and temporary floating population to the city for employment and for service when the families are left in their native villages bears responsibility for the striking disproportion between the sexes and for prostitution. This disparity between the proportion of the sexes in the total population of Calcutta has been marked ever since census operations have been undertaken.

	Males.	Females	Excess of males as compared with Females.
1872	407,742	225,267	1.81 times.
1876	388,766	223,018	1.74 "
1881	393,453	213,854	1.83 "
1891	447,162	235,143	1.91 "
1901	562,596	285,200	1.97 "
1911	607,674	288,392	2.11 "

The above show the number of males to be more than twice the number of females and this excess is steadily increasing from year to year. Another peculiar noticeable feature is the large *floating population* in the city. In his report for 1906, the Health Officer observed that

marriageable age, bearing in mind that these women do not cease to be human as soon as they become widows. A very large proportion of prostitutes and of maidservants and female cooks in Calcutta are persons of this description.—Ed., M. R.

* Mr. Bompas's Lecture, June 25, 1912.

after making considerable allowances for defective registration of births, it would appear that we have an unnatural decrease, and that the population is maintained and increased by *wholesale immigration from rural districts*.^{*} Rural standards and ideals, communal ethics and religion are thrown to the winds when a drifting, floating population is face to face with vice and temptation in the slums of a cosmopolitan city, and the broken homesteads in our deserted villages have their obverse in the crowded brothels of our unclean cities.

In Bombay also the general proportion of females to 1,000 males is steadily decreasing with their attendant evils of the disintegration of the home, vice and prostitution.

Proportion of Females to
1000 males.

1872	649
1881	664
1891	586
1901	617
1906	595
1911	562

In towns in England, at the age 15 to 20 there are 107 females to 100 males. Females migrate to towns as domestic servants, leaving their brothers behind them. Between the ages 20 to 45 the excess of females is gradually diminished and the proportion is very nearly the same. In Calcutta as we have seen there are only 47 females to every 100 males.

We should also remember that in India, and especially in Bengal, the domestic feelings and sentiments are peculiarly strong. Family affection and infant marriage are potent factors in our domestic life, and no condition has been so unnatural, depressing and de-humanising as has been brought about in Calcutta by poverty and house-famine among the labouring and middle classes who are thus compelled to live single lives in the artificial city environment with so many pleasures to tempt, and so little of the touch with nature and communal morality to protect. Prostitution is a reaction against this unnatural situation. Apart from these the housing conditions have their influence on morals. P. Hirsch observes:

"A lodging fit for a human being is the first

* S. W. Goode—Municipal, Calcutta.

requirement for the bodily and mental welfare of the family; it is the prerequisite for a well-regulated family life, and for the rearing of the children to be moral men and women. The improprieties resulting from the exigencies of insufficient dwellings are innumerable, and this condition is an inexhaustible source of crime, prostitution and vice of every kind."

Labourers come to Calcutta from the villages and live without family in overcrowded bustis and *chawls* in rooms, dark, dingy and gloomy, without comfort and attractiveness. Such conditions destroy alertness of attention, deaden and stupify the intelligence; they substitute intense for mild pleasures, and produce a craving for unnatural excitement. They seek refuge in unwholesome recreation, in wine or women. And the dram-shop or brothel are places where there are also light and gaiety, where there are comrades and other topics of conversation than the perpetual heavy cares of life, and above, for a little money they may procure there the means of forgetting for the moment in drink and passion the miseries of life. The squalor and the dirt promote the impulses of moral uncleanness on the one hand and on the other malnutrition and innutrition with the consequent nervous depression are apt to be followed by reactionary organic excesses and diminution of inhibiting power and such moral degradation can only be prevented by better conditions of housing and labour, healthy recreations, and greater opportunities by a more humane and equitable treatment of these classes in accordance to the demands of social justice.

The whole problem of social hygiene is indissolubly mixed up in this country with the problems of poverty, of the revival of the village, of the reorganisation of our industrial and social system and of the conditions of employment of our girls. A working class that maintains infant marriage, that eats and sleeps and propagates in the slums where the opportunity for brutal and bestial life is constant; a poor middle-class that has to subsist with low salaries in a city where high rents compel it to live in messes and flats far away from the checks and influences of family and communal life and traditions; the total dependence of the woman for livelihood on her husband's earnings, and the social and domestic conditions that make her independent living on her own earnings impossible; a helpless widowhood that is no

longer able to subsist by domestic arts and is left disattached or unattached* owing to the disintegration of family ties and communal bonds, the lapse of the older customary rights of *streedhan* which used to serve as an insurance against destitution and contumely; the system of employment of female labour in our jute and cotton mills under bad conditions and in a bad environment; the growing poverty and stress rendered more acute by a social ethics, which has not as yet been able to adapt itself to new economic conditions; the want of adaptation of the regulations of our sexual code to the new conditions of mixed labour in our centres of industry among the labouring classes, as well as to the demands of a freer intercourse between man and woman among our middle classes which modern social conditions imply—the solution of such economic and social problems must precede all attempts to solve the insistent problems of social hygiene and social purity in our cities.

In ancient India the modern European methods of "regulation", were operative. There were licensing, taxation, as well as segregation of fallen women. Every public woman (*rupa-jiva*) paid every month twice the amount of a day's earning. The Superintendent (*Ganikadhyaksha*) determined their earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure and future earnings. Extravagant expenditure was penalised. Every public woman supplied information to the Superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*), her income and the name of her paramour. When a prostitute against her will or a minor girl was outraged, heavy penalty was imposed. Public women could gain their freedom by paying a ransom; when they lost their beauty or became old they could be appointed as nurses (*matrika*) or in the store-house or kitchen of the royal household. Medical inspection was not thought of, as the curse which is imported from the West where it is an universal and relentless scourge has been unknown. This was perhaps introduced into India during the 16th century as the first mention of it occurs in the *Bhabaprakasa*, which speaks of the taint as coming through the Europeans, especially the Portuguese.

* This factor required a more than casual mention.—Ed., M. R.

In the continent the controversy as regards the social morality, hygiene and expediency of regulation had long been settled and the system of regulation has been accepted as an integral part of the social economy and hygiene. In Great Britain there have been alterations of policy and recently after the repeal of the licensing provisions under the Contagious Diseases Acts there has been a fresh agitation in militaristic camps in England as well as in India to re-introduce the regulation in the interests of the health and physique of the army. The general question of State revenues of the licensing of vice, and passion as well the taxation of the earnings and profits of unsocial and anti-social trades and vocations and services developing from a more or less universal system of excise, gambling, racing, and lottery to stock-jobbing and premium bonds of municipalities and nations of which the regulation and profits of sexual vice are a special case, is one which we cannot stop to consider here.

The registration system has proved its failure mainly for two reasons. First, it has mitigated or sought to remove the physiological penalty attached to profligacy. The interference with the natural punishment which does not work at the root causes may be a powerful incentive to vice. Secondly, an inherently unjust and outrageous one-sided social ethics and legislation, which discriminates against the female prostitute, with virtual immunity for the male cadet who lives upon her earnings, and complete immunity for the male prostitute, equally guilty and unclean, which shuts one door and leaves another door open in the arrangements for inspection and registration is bound to be futile so far as social health and clean living are concerned.

On the other hand, to leave the unfortunates to drift and shift as cast-aways in the muddy waters would be criminal on the part of a society, which by its male code of ethics and social justice, as well as by its denial of economic status and of independent and honourable subsistence drives multitudes of women to trade on the only capital they possess, and thus make them succumb to the demands of the tyrant's passions; for, except in abnormal or morbid cases there is no woman in her natural and normal condition but would shudder at the thought of

the outrage on her body and mind which these conditions imply. Brothel-keepers and procurers should be penalised, and all the links of the dark chain broken. The recent prosecutions in Calcutta have served their purpose well. But the attempt at the regulation of the vice and its evils while it should be in the direction of segregation, penalising of keepers of houses, landlords, middlemen and procurers, should never go beyond the limits demanded by the inviolable sacredness of the body or person as the shrine of the spirit in woman and man alike. Humanity is brutalised and bestialised by all outrages on the person.

The remedies must be sought in other directions. These should be at once remedial and preventive and be directed to the removal of root causes of the social evil. We have already indicated a few of these originating conditions. They are the disparity between the proportion of the sexes in certain aggregations of population, bad housing conditions in dirt, squalor and destitution, the excessive work and nervous depression in conditions of life in the factory and the de-natured city, with the consequent organic reaction and excesses, the creation of an unattached or a disattached womanhood or widowhood without a healthy and secure subsistence, the flaunting evidences of the contrast between immoral prosperity and low wages as well as irregular employment of domestic servants and work women, unfavourable labour conditions of women, as well as of mixed labour generally, and the social injustice involved in making the descent easy and the return difficult for women under a social code in which their honour can more easily be ruined or tarnished than that of men and sometimes woman's dishonour counts even for man's honour.

The economic and social circumstances implied above have to be replaced in the cities of the future in order that social purity may be maintained. For example, in Calcutta and the Indian cities generally the excess of males over females with its consequences requires industrial re-arrangement, and municipal administration and enterprise in the opening out of new careers of independent or subsidiary character as well as domestic service, handicrafts and home industries which will attract a regular flow of woman labour, from the coun-

try districts and thus restore the balance in a population of single men. Tailoring, millinery, dress-making, basket-making, laundry, midwifery and nursing, poultry-keeping, vegetable gardening, and dairying in the near future, the varied household arts and industries and all other forms of human labour will naturally draw girls and women from villages which will correct the present disparity. .

The development of the variety of woman's occupations in the cities must also be accompanied by improvements in agriculture and arts and crafts which will also react on the conditions of man-labour in villages and prevent wholesale immigration from rural districts. The danger lies less in the relative increase of the urban population than in the ignorance and mistakes of those who naturally belong to the land and the home industry, because of hereditary training, inheritance as well as personal adaptability and who migrate to cities because of misunderstanding, delusions and vain hopes or the absence of that degree of efficiency and enjoyment that scientific agriculture and handicrafts, co-operative methods and improved education might easily afford in country life. The error is more apparent in the case of woman labour, especially of domestic servants who migrate to cities, who have no place to sleep except in the 'busti', so full of opportunities for immoral life, who have no friends or guardians to watch and warn when they are in danger, but whose secure and honourable livelihood can easily be afforded by domestic and agricultural pursuits in the village.*

As long as this disparity remains, and the hereditary polygamous or promiscuous instincts of the male, universal in every society, a survival of the old polygamy and promiscuity, are not eradicated by education and domestic institutions and morality, it will be futile to expect that the social evil will cease and an artificial

arrest or repression in the absence of remedial measures may be accompanied by clandestine indulgences which will poison social and domestic morals.

Much remains to be done here within these limits. In Calcutta the policy at present adopted of clearing all disorderly houses from streets declared main thoroughfares, although primarily not one of allocation, would ultimately tend to the establishment of a fixed and definite quarter in which disorderly houses will be situated. But no clear and well-defined policy is systematically followed in the direction of segregation. There is no control also of the traffic in minor girls who are made to prostitute themselves even from such early age as 8 or 10, no penalisation of the male cadet who lives on the income and fall of the women. Even street solicitation is not sufficiently penalised. In 1916 seventeen women were apprehended for soliciting in the streets, one woman was prosecuted 39 times, and six others 38, 29, 27, 26, 22 and 18 times respectively. The average sentence imposed on these women was a fine of Rs. 5 or 8 days' imprisonment. The necessity for dealing with this evil in a more appropriate way is strikingly emphasised by the figures. The present sentences act in no way as a deterrent.

Such remedial measures will have also to be supplemented by positive educational and moral agencies, the purity of life and uplift of sexual morality in man as well as women, and physiological education of the young in the home, pure and wholesome recreations and pleasure, the raising of standard of wages and betterment of the conditions of labour of women, the endowment and insurance by society for maternity and orphanhood.

Above all, it is only the balm of social sympathy which can heal the ulcer of woman's dishonour and misfortune. No society can be said to discharge its primary responsibility to humanity which does not provide for the restoration to their due status and natural place the victims of an unnatural social arrangement, which claims its hecatombs by thousands. Maternity homes and hostels, widow's shelters and refuges, reformatories for minor girls conducted by municipalities and private social missions or charity organisations and all other methods, educational and industrial, which

* As the inhabitants of Calcutta would continue to require maid-servants even after conditions had been improved in villages in the direction pointed out, widows—the majority being comparatively young—would continue to migrate from the rural parts to the city. It is the duty of the municipal and police authorities and of private philanthropic bodies to provide cheap and sanitary abodes under sympathetic and respectable supervision, in good surroundings and a healthy moral atmosphere. It is not at all impossible to provide such dwellings even on a business basis.—Ed., M.R.

have been adopted so successfully by the Salvation Army, will be protecting wings as it were by which the Mother Society will gather unto her bosom the unhappy and sorrowing brood of her wounded and

afflicted children, and hide them from shame and persecution,

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Archaeological Department.

Two notes which appeared in the Modern Review for November show that the country is just beginning to take some interest in the working of the Indian Archaeological Department. Every Indian agrees with Mr. S. R. A. when he says that "It is therefore necessary for us to be accurate in our information before any wholesale condemnation is publicly pronounced." I have watched the growth and expansion of this department with great interest since its regeneration by Lord Curzon in 1902 but I find that many statements in Mr. S. R. A.'s short note are not accurate. I hasten to put before the Indian public the information collected by me during the last two decades.

At the time of the reorganisation of the department in 1902 its cadre consisted of the following officers;

Name of Rank.	Qualifications.	Jurisdiction.
H. Cousens.	Superintendent	Draftsman and photographer, slight knowledge of Indian coins.
D. R. Bhandarkar.	Asst. Supdt. (temporary)	Epigraphist, Historian, Pali and Sanskrit scholar.
A. Rea.	Superintendent	Nil.
V. Venkayya.	Asst. Supdt.	Epigraphist, Sanskrit scholar.
J. P. Vogel.	Superintendent.	Slight knowledge of Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Buddhist Art.
J. F. Tucker.	Do.	Nil.
T. Bloch.	Do.	Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian scholar, Epigraphist.
		Bombay Presidency, Rajputana, Central Provinces, Nizam's Dominion.
		Do.
		Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travancore.
		Do.
		Punjab.
		N.W. Provinces.
		Assam, Bengal.

Only two Indians had the honour of belonging to this department at the time of its re-organisation. One of these, Mr. Venkayya, was indispensable to the department because he and his assistants were the only people besides Dr. E. Hultzsch who had any knowledge of old Telugu, Tamil and Canarese inscriptions. The other Indian held a temporary

appointment which no doubt had been created for him because he was the son of Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar and had been trained by him and therefore was able to supplement the work of the superintendent of the Bombay Presidency whose knowledge of the original materials of Indian History was exceedingly meagre. The first Indian who was admitted to the rank and privileges of the Superintendent of this department was the late Mr. V. Venkayya. When Dr. S. Konow, the Government Epigraphist, for reasons known to the Gods of the Indian Olympus who rule over the destinies of this department, resigned, Mr. Venkayya was appointed to succeed him. The reason of this favour to dark-skinned scholar is not far to seek. Mr. Venkayya was then the only man in India who could carry on the printing of South Indian Inscriptions.

The first Indian who was made a real live superintendent of this department was Mr. Devadatta Bhandarkar. Very few people know about the determined opposition to his appointment in which all white members of this department combined; yet at that moment most of them were not fit to be even his pupils in Sanskrit scholarship and knowledge of Indian History. Prof. Bhandarkar has escaped the clutches of the despot who rules over the destinies of this department. As an Indian and a patriot he should publish the story of the struggle, his great fight with the Jupiter of the department and the result.

The history of the appointment of the remaining Indian Superintendents is very interesting. The next appointment was offered to Jupiter's personal henchman who had propitiated him by his prolonged devotion. He superseded H. Krishna Sastri, Mr. Venkayya's able successor in Madras, whose knowledge of Indian Epigraphy is second to none at present, Pandit Dayaram Sawhney, who has been rightly praised by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, and a host of others, all of whom were his seniors, both in service and in knowledge.

When Mr. Vogel, who was Jupiter's mainstay in matters concerning Indian Inscriptions, Coins and Archaeology, retired, his place was given to an English gentleman named Harold Hargreaves, who was engaged in imparting light to the children living in the darkness of the valley of the five rivers. This gentleman's qualifications, and his knowledge of Indian classics and history are a profound mystery to us. The reasons for which he was chosen to succeed a Vogel are even now known to the Jupiter of the department only. Tired of being the local antiquary and impelled by patriotic motives this self-made scholar chose to join the reserve of Indian officers. It was then that Pandit D. R. Sawhney was thought of. Mr. R. D. Banerji, who had proved

to be a thorn in the sides of his superiors and whose un-Abdell-like behaviour had been tolerated too long, was banished from the scene of his faithless activities as soon as an opportunity presented itself. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar joined the Education Department of Bengal and Mr. Banerji was translated to the Western Presidency for his want of Zoroastrian loyalty. Mr. S. R. A. can assure himself that the last two appointments were offered to Indians because at that time no Europeans, literate or illiterate, were available. The recent appointment, that of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, to the chair vacated by Mr. D. B. Spooner, was one of necessity. At that time the war had not ended, so Europeans were not available. Besides this there was that ubiquitous Bihari who had made himself obnoxious by his supposed disloyalty (not to the Government but to his immediate superior) and therefore department policy demanded that he should be placed under one who is both his junior and inferior in all respects. This, Sir, is the history of the appointment of Indians as Superintendents in the Archaeological Department.

I am surprised to hear that poor Dr. Thomas has been taken to be the Government Epigraphist for India. He is only a stopgap, keeping the throne warm for the chicken that is being hatched in Holland. Mr. Krishna Sastri is the *Sikhandin* of this warfare. He is another stopgap who in official parlance is styled "in charge of the current duties of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India." In truth he is but a reader of proofs.

The work of editing Asoka inscriptions was at first entrusted to Dr. E. Hultzsch of Haale before the war. It has now been entrusted to an Indian because a German scholar is no longer a favourite and an English or Dutch scholar is not available. I hope we will not live to see the work being taken away from the scholar in question.

We wonder why Dr. Vogel of all persons has been commissioned to manufacture a Government Epigraphist, out of a raw graduate, either Indian or European. In the first place, Dr. Vogel's qualification do not fit him to be the requisite forger of an Indian Epigraphist. In the Republic of Letters a man is judged by his productions and not by his skin. I like Dr. Vogel's Chamba Catalogue, the Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, but his Epigraphical works? Ye Gods of Olympus, what are you not capable of!

If for departmental reasons, not entirely unconnected with the shades of dark grey, it was necessary to place a beardless boy with a thin veneer of Epigraphic love over the aged, erudite and universally respected Hoskote Krishna Sastri, then why was not a competent Epigraphist like Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar commissioned to manufacture one? I hope Mr. S. R. A. will now agree with me in thinking that the Archaeological Department has worked since 1902 with a decided leaning against Indian Workers.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly has begun to take an interest in the working of the Archaeological Department recently and as he is a busy lawyer I believe he has not had time to study the work of the Department fully. If he takes the trouble of diving deeper he will come to the same conclusion as "X." Will Mr. Gangoly enquire how much money has been spent by the Indian Archaeological Department since its reorganisation in 1902 excepting the cost of conservation of monuments and what is the total output of the Department up to date? Then he will be able to compare the Indian Department with the French or Dutch Commissions. As one who derives his

knowledge of Indo-Chinese and Javanese Archaeological work from personal contact with men like Finot or Krom, I can assure him that the French or Javanese Commissions are not dumping grounds for Anglo-Indian incapables like the Archaeological Department. They bring out capable honest scholars who do not work merely for the sake of their screws or to acquire sudden fame. I wish that Mr. Gangoly had waited to compute the cost of the Archaeological Department *minus* that for conservation as compared with the output before he started to eulogise the Zeus of the Indian Olympus.

The only man in the Indian administration who studied both sides of the ledger was Sir Harcourt Butler. When he proposed to abolish this costly but useless department in 1911, statistics both of the cost and the output were compiled. We have some vertebrate members in our Legislative Councils. Can they not be expected to put some interpellations at the next meeting? I am sure the information would cool Mr. Gangoly's ardour for Zeus.

I am going to overlook the minor points of Mr. Gangoly's note. Is he aware of the fact that the great Archaeological resolution of 1915 was really a good diplomatic move on the part of the present protector of the head of the Archaeological Department to whitewash a multitude of sins. It requires careful and detailed analysis. It will be done if desired. The whitewashing was necessary to do away with the after-effects of Sir Harcourt Butler's attack and exposure. Mr. Gangoly hopes that an Indian will be appointed Government Epigraphist. I want to add another adjective, I hope a competent. Indian will be elected and not a raw lad with a thin gloss of Epigraphy who will drown scholarship to shine suddenly as a celebrity. It will take a beginner a good quarter of a century to turn out the style of work that a Devadatta Bhandarkar or a Hoskote Krishna Sastri can turn out and therefore the Indian Government should consider the claims of competent men carefully before the Indian ratepayer's hard earned money is wasted on an Epigraphist that a man of J. P. Vogel's calibre can forge.

Is Mr. Gangoly aware that the author of the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" has been translated to Olympus for his Zoroastrian connections? If anybody asks questions the Department will answer that a post has been created for him on account of his administrative ability. But the Indian ratepayer ought to know that his administrative capacity consists of "Garib-parwari" and he ruled Bihar and Orissa by means of his favourites. One of them received the Chauth and Sardesmulhi of the Archaeological mango-groves (mangroves in official returns) of Persepolitan Pataliputra near Patna. The second one thrives on the peishkush for showering honours and office from the capital of the Imperial Mauryas and the third produced lists of archaeological objects in the province from his safe nest at Patna as Nizamulmulk ruled the six subas of Deccan from Delhi. The last one was recommended for an Imperial scholarship but the news of a little incident of his Varsity days reached Olympus and bread was snatched up from his platter. Last year when the department was being conducted on Zoroastrian methods, the same celebrity was being foisted on Baroda as a museum expert, but the native Gods who have protected the Gaikwad so long did not fail him and Gujarat was saved from his clutches. So much for administrative ability.

15th, 1918, November.

"Y."

NOTES ON THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES OF BENGAL

(Up to 16th Century A. D.)

BY NARENDRANATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

IT has been justly remarked by Sir W. Hunter that "from the earliest days, India has been a trading country. The industrial genius of her inhabitants, even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea-board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands. In contrast with the Arabian peninsula on the west, with the Malaya peninsula on the east, or with the equally fertile empire of China, India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe.¹ It will be seen from the following account that Bengal is entitled to a goodly share of the tribute of praise thus offered to India as a whole. The evidences collected here are of a diverse character, some testifying to its manufactured products, some to its raw materials in which trade could be carried on, and others, direct or indirect, to its internal or external commerce.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that of the articles brought as tribute to Yudhisthira on the occasion of his performance of the *Rājāsūya* sacrifice, Bengal contributed "elephants with large tusks and rich caparisons."² "Large elephants and horses, and much gold and curiously-wrought seats and litters, and beds made of ivory and inlaid with gold and jewels; also suits of armour, weapons of various kinds, war-chariots hung with tiger skins and decorated with gold, different sorts of arrows and housings for elephants"³ were presented by the princes of the "eastern tribes" which, according to H. H. Wilson, might include the people of Bengal.⁴ In the list of valuables in the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta

Maurya, we find mention of these fabrics of Vanga (Bengal) and Paundra (part of South Behar and Bengal)¹ :—[The white and glossy *Dukūla* (very fine cloth made of the inner bark of *Dukūla* plant²) of Bengal, and the black and gem-like glossy *Dukūla* of Paundra with five kinds of each of them; *Kshauma* (linen) and *Patrornā* (cloth made of the kinds of fibres mentioned below in f. n. 3) of Paundra with their varieties³; *Kauseya* (silk) of the same place, and (*Kārpāsika*) cotton fabrics of Bengal classed among the best that India could produce. Reference is made to *Chīnabhūmija*-*Chinapattas* (a sort of Chinese cloth made in China) for Indian consumption]⁴ hinting most probably at the Sino-Indian trade in silk fabrics alluded to by the *Rāmāyana*.⁵ I may mention that though China was famous from very early times for its silk, the silk-worm appears to be "as much an indigenous native of India as of China like several other products, and, among them, that most vital one—rice"⁶ The *Kārpāsika* (cotton fabric) mentioned above is also an indigenous manufacture of this country, "India being, according to our knowledge, its accredited birth-place. In one of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, said to have been written fifteen centuries before our (Christian) era, reference is made to *cotton in the loom*, at which early date, therefore, it

1. Monier Williams' 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary', under Paundra.

2. See Monier Williams, 'op. cit.', for the above meanings of *Dukūla* &c.

3. The fibres for making 'Patrornā' are extracted from *Nāga* (*Mesua Roxburghii* &c.), '*Likucha*' (*Artocarpus Lacucha*), '*Bakula*' (*Mimusops Elengi*), and '*Vata*' (*Ficus Indica*), which give rise to these colours respectively in the fabrics, viz., yellow, wheat, white, and fresh butter.

4. '*Arthasāstra*, *Kosapravesya-ratna-pariksha*', pp. 80, 81.

5. '*Rāmāyana*', *Kishkindya-kāṇḍa*, ch. 40, slk. 23. Cf. *Kālidāsa's* '*Sakuntalā*', I, 29 and '*Kumārāsambhavam*', vii, 3.

6. Ragozin's '*Vedic India*', p. 42. Cf. J.A.S.B., vol. vi, T. W. Hefler, 'On the Indigenous Silk-Worms of India', p. 40.

1. Hunter's 'Indian Empire' 3rd ed., p. 658.

2. J.R.A.S., vol. 7, H.H. Wilson, 'Notes on the *Sabbhā*-Parva of the *Mahābhārata*', p. 144. See Mbh., *Sabbhā*-Parva, ch. 52, slks. 18-21.

3. Corresponding to Mbh., loc. cit., slks. 32-35.

4. J.R.A.S., loc. cit., pp. 143, 144; cf. R. L. Mitra's '*Indo-Aryans*', vol. I, p. 172; C. V. Vaidya uses the passage in his '*Epic India*', p. 238 (ch. xi on trade and industries).

must have acquired some considerable footing."¹ To return from this digression: the *Arthashastra*² mentions *Gaudikam rupyam*, i.e., silver from Gauda the central part of Bengal as one of the varieties of the metal then prevalent. The use of the precious metals provided important industries in the times of Chandragupta Maurya³ and earlier,⁴ and from this it is reasonable to infer that the silver mines of Gauda might have supplied a field for the investment of Bengal labour and capital.

To these should be added the consideration that "there is every possibility," as Mr. Monahan⁵ says, "that from an early date in the Maurya period, the administration, the laws, and the general state of civilisation of the greater part of Bengal were the same as those portrayed by Megasthenes in his description of Chandragupta's empire" and corroborated by Kautilya. The significance of this statement lies in the application of the more or less same economic conditions as those depicted in Megasthenes and specially in Kautilya to the greater part of Bengal regarding, for instance, the state supervision of the agriculturists, cattle rearers, manufacturers, artisans, traders, money-lenders, functional castes, and others upon whom depended the economic welfare of the country, the state-regulation of the market, the amount of private enterprise at work and the encouragement it received from the state, the guilds, the concessions to foreign merchandise for fostering foreign commerce, the hold of customs upon the people's economic activities and so forth. There are two other considerations which have a bearing upon the economic situation of Bengal: The first, which is practically certain, and must have contributed to the importance, wealth and civilisation of Bengal under the Maurya empire and its close connection with the capital of the empire, is that the river Ganges, which flows through Bengal before reaching the sea, must

have been one of the principal channels of the sea-borne commerce of the empire"¹ and the second that trade routes² running east and west through the Maurya empire facilitated the commercial intercourse between Bengal and the imperial capital or other parts of the empire.

1ST CENTURY A.D.

It is stated by Macpherson³ that Egyptian vessels sailed to Patala (in Sindh) and a few traders went as far as the Ganges in 14 A.D., most probably by the Royal High Way that extended across the country from the Indus to the Ganges.

Our information regarding Bengal in the latter half of the first century A.D., is comparatively detailed, supplied as it is by the *Periplus*. From the market towns Tyndis (probably Ponnani), Nelcynda (Kottayam in Travancore) &c., were exported large quantities of silk cloth and Gangetic spikenard (*Nardostachys Jatamansi* valued for its aroma).⁴ According to Mr. W. H. Schoff, the former was the exclusive manufacture of China,⁵ but, as we have seen above,⁶ it was as much a production of Bengal, though of course the latter might have differed from the former in quality. The Gangetic spikenard was brought from the Himalayas to the market-town of the same name as that of the river Ganges and situated on its bank, i.e., Gānge (*Saptagrāma*).⁷ Muslins of the finest sort called Gangetic, pearls and malabothram

1. 'J.R.A.S.' vol. 17 (1860), J. A. Mann, "On the Cotton Trade of India", p. 347. P. T. S. Iyengar's 'Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' p. 27.

2. 'Arthashastra,' Akshashalayam Suvarnadhyaiksha, p. 85.

3 & 4. See my 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity,' vol. 1, pp. 5-11, and P. T. S. Iyengar, op. cit., pp. 28, 29. In the former Megasthenes has been quoted.

5. 'Bengal Past and Present' ("Early History of Bengal" by Mr. F. J. Monahan, I.C.S.) 1916, pp. 53, 54.

1. Mr. F. J. Monahan in 'Bengal Past and Present', 1916, p. 55 (with some changes for adaptation to the present context).

2. 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, vol. 1, pp. 69, 70 (on the authority of Kautilya).

3. D. Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce' (1805), vol. 1, p. 139. This passage forming part of a simile in the Milinda-Panho (S.B.E.) Pt. II, p. 269, is interesting owing to its reference to sea-voyage to Bengal: "As a ship-owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to 'Vanga', or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place 'where ships do congregate.'"

4. The 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea', Schoff's ed., p. 45 text.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 222 (notes).

6. Vide supra, the evidence of the 'Arthashastra'.

7. Schoff, 'op. cit.', p. 47 (text). It is identified with Tāmrālipti in his notes, p. 255, but Saptagrāma (modern Sālgāon) gives a more probable identification (Mr. N. L. Dey in 'J.A.S.B.', 1910, pp. 614, 615, "History of the District of Hughli").

(Bengali Tejpatā) were also carried to the town and exported thence.¹ The Muslins, in Mr. Schoff's opinion, were the productions of the Dacca District and most delicate of all the fabrics of India, so much so that their test lay in drawing them through a finger ring. For this fineness, the Romans called them *Ventus textilis* or *Nebula*.²

The Gangetic pearls were of an inferior quality, 'being small, often irregular, and usually reddish'.³ Gold mines are said to have existed in a place near the aforesaid market-town.⁴ Mr. Schoff infers that the place was probably none other than the Chota Nagpur plateau.⁵ Gold was also brought from Assam and Northern Burma through Tipperah (in Bengal).⁶

1ST AND 2ND C., A.D.

Pliny speaks of the metal and precious stones of Bengal: "As touching rivers that afford precious stones, Acesines and *Ganges* are the chief, and, of all lands, India is the principal".⁷ Diamonds were produced, according to Ptolemy's testimony in a 'locality situated on the Ganges' considered by Prof. V. Ball to have been probably Chota Nagpur.⁸

Of the commercial towns of note in Bengal in those days, we get the names of Gange⁹ and Tamalites.¹⁰ These were great emporia of trade and centres for export and import of merchandise to and from other places in India as well as foreign countries. There were necessarily several trade-routes both by land and water for their inter-communication.¹¹ In the language of Pliny "when ye are over Ganges, the first region upon the coast that you set foot into is that of the Gangaridæ. . . . Some apply themselves to tillage and husbandry: others set

their minds upon martial feats: one sort of them practise merchant's trade transporting their own commodities into other countries and bringing in foreign merchandise into their own".¹²

5TH C., A.D.

There is no substantial notice,¹³ so far as I see, of the commerce or industries of Bengal in the third and the fourth centuries A.D. From the *Jātakas* belonging to the 5th century A.D.,¹⁴ we have vague references to caravans going east or west, of which probably a larger portion went in the latter direction. Traffic in the east was largely effected by water down the Ganges to Champā (Bhagalpur) and perhaps further. It is suggested by the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (VI, 32-35, Fausboll's ed.), that the Ganges was navigable from Champā up to the sea.¹⁵ Tāmralipti continued to be a sea-port.¹⁶

7TH C., A.D.

It was at Tāmralipti that the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang found wonderful articles of value, and gems in abundance, from which he inferred its people in general to have been very rich.¹⁷ Samatata was regularly cultivated and was rich in crops, flowers and fruits.¹⁸

9TH C., A.D.

The Arab merchant Sulaiman, who made several voyages to India in the middle of the 9th century A.D., speaks of a place called Ruhmi (the locality of Dacca according to Sir H. M. Elliot) where "a stuff was made not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of

1. Schoff, 'op. cit.', p. 47 (text).
 2. *Ibid.* notes, pp. 256ff., containing many other details regarding muslins.
 3. According to Dr. Taylor's 'Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus' in J.A.S.B., Jan. 1847, pp. 23, 24 as quoted in Schoff, op. cit., notes, p. 256.
 4. Schoff, 'op. cit.', text, p. 48.
 5. *Ibid.*, notes, p. 258.
 6. *Ibid.*, notes, p. 259.
 7. Pliny's 'Natural History' (translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1601), vol. ii, p. 632.
 8. 'Indian Antiquary', vol. 13 (1884), p. 236.
 9 & 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 365, and Periplus.
 11. E.g. Schoff, 'op. cit.', notes, p. 272; 'Ind. Ant.', vol. 13, p. 364; R. L. Mitra's 'In lo-Aryans', vol. 1, p. 292.

1. Pliny's 'Natural History', vol. I, p. 126 (translated by Philemon Holland). Cf. W. Vincent's 'Commerce of the Ancients', vol. II, p. 460.

2. Only Tāmralipti, for instance, is mentioned in the Dvīpavamsa (III, 33).

3. Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India', pp. 200, 201.

4. 'J.R.A.S.', 1901, pp. 870, 871, Mrs. Rhys Davids, 'Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India'. It also contains a list of specimens of manufacture mentioned in the 'Jātakas.'

5. J. Legge's 'Fa-Hien', p. 100. Varāha-mihira in his 'Bṛhat-Samhitā' (6th C., A.D.) speaks of diamonds of Bengal found on the banks of the Vena and in Paundra, the former being very pure and the latter grey ['J.R.A.S.', vol. vii, N.S., 1875, pp. 125, 126].

6. Beal's 'Buddhist Records etc.', Vol. II, p. 201. I-Tsing came here in 673 A. D. Takakusu's ed., of I-Tsing's 'Record etc.', XVII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

7. Beal, 'op. cit.', Vol. II, p. 199.

cotton, and, we have seen a piece of it. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *Samara*, of which *madabas* are made."¹

10TH C., A.D.

Ibn Khurdadba, an Arab Geographer of the beginning of the 10th century A.D., also mentions Rahmi (Ruhmi) as the place producing cotton cloths and aloe wood.²

13TH C., A.D.

Chao Ju-Kua, a Chinese traveller, who collected his notes about India in 1211 A.D., records that the country of Ping-kalo (Bengala) "produced superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton and other cloth."³

Bengal about this time underwent a change of sovereignty, its Hindu rulers having submitted to the Muhammadans. The Muslim religion, according to Robertson, contributed greatly towards the increase of commercial intercourse by land with Mecca where an annual fair was held and hosts of pilgrims from distant lands flocked to the place in obedience to the Prophet's injunction. The manufactures of India formed a capital article in the transactions, and caravans returned thence loaded with the *muslins and chintzes of Bengal* together with various other Indian commodities to disseminate them through every part of Asia and Africa.⁴

Marco Polo informs us that the people of Bengal "grew cotton in which they drove a great trade, and also spices such as spikenard, galingale, ginger, sugar, and many other sorts."⁵

14TH C., A.D.

Ibn Batuta refers to Bengal as an extensive and plentiful country and says that he had never seen a place where provisions were so cheap.⁶ By the "Blue River", he adds, one would travel to Bengal and Laknauti. Upon it were gardens, *mills* and *villages* which it refreshed like the Nile of Egypt.⁷

15TH C., A.D.

A goodly piece of information regarding

1. Elliot's 'History of India' (ed. by Prof. J. Dowson) vol. I, p. 5 and Appendix, p. 361.

2. Elliot, 'op. cit.', vol. I, pp. 13, 14.

3. 'J. R. A. S.', 1896, p. 495, "Chao-Ju-Kua's Ethnography &c.," by F. Hirth, Ph. D.

4. W. Robertson's 'Historical Disquisition on Ancient India,' Sec. III, para. 53.

5. Yule's 'Marco Polo,' vol. II, p. 115.

6. Lee's 'Travels of Ibn Batuta,' p. 194. Ibn Batuta was at Muhammad Tughlak's court in 1334-42 A. D.

7. Lee's 'op. cit.,' p. 197.

the kingdom of Pang-kola (Bengala) is furnished by the Chinese compiler Mahuan in his account written at the commencement of the fifteenth century. He speaks of it as [an extensive country with abundance of products and a numerous population professing the Muhammadan religion. There were the rich built ships for carrying on commerce with foreign nations. Many were engaged in trade, a good many in agriculture, while others in arts and crafts. The country yielded two crops of rice a year, and a peculiar kind of the same staple with long, wiry, red grains, wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, vegetables of several sorts in abundance, many kinds of fruits, such as plantain, mango, pomegranate and jack-fruit. Sugar-cane, granulated sugar, white sugar and various candied and preserved fruits are also available. Three or four kinds of wines were manufactured, the cocoanut, rice, tarry, and kadjang. Guests were offered betelnut instead of tea. The streets were well provided with shops. There were manufactured five or six kinds of fine cotton fabrics (muslins), one of which called Pi-chih was of soft texture, 3 feet wide and 56 or 57 feet long. A closely woven, strong, ginger-yellow fabric called Man-che ti, about 4 feet wide and 50 feet long was also produced. Another fabric called Sha-na-kieh was 5 feet broad and 20 long, while Hin-pei-tung-ta-li was 3 feet by 60 feet, with gauze-like appearance, and meshes of its texture open and regular. It was much used for turbans. Sha-ta-urh 2 feet 5 or 6 inches by 40 feet or more resembled the Chinese San-so, while Mo-hei-Me-Peh, 4 feet by 20 feet or more, had a facing on both sides four to five tenths (presumably of an inch) thick (wide 9).

The silkworms and mulberry tree were found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel guns, knives, and scissors were all to be had in the place. White paper smooth and glossy like a deer's skin was manufactured from the bark of a tree. The king fitted out ships and sent them to foreign countries to trade. Pearls and precious stones were sent as presents to China.¹

The reputation of Ormuz as a great sea-

1 'J. R. A. S.' (1895), "Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengal" by George Phillips pp. 529-533.

port dates back to the first centuries of the Christian era, and that it had commercial connections with many distant lands like Bengal is a matter of inference. Abdur-Razzak expressly mentions that merchants of seven climates made their way to the port, and those of Bengal among other countries arrived here with their rare and precious articles.¹

16TH C. A.D.

The account left by Varthema who visited Bengal in the first decade of this century represents [it as abounding in grain, flesh of every kind, sugar, ginger, and cotton more than any country in the world. Richest merchants assembled here and fifty ships were laden every year with cotton and silk stuffs (*Bairam, Namone, Lisati, Cianter, Doasar* and *Sinabaff*) which were taken to all parts of India as also to Turkey, Syria, Persia, Arabia, Felix, and Ethiopia. The traveller came across jewel-dealers of diverse nationalities and Christian (Nestorian) merchants who had brought silken stuffs, aloewood, benozin, and musk for sale from Sarnau.]² Mecca imported a very large quantity of cotton and silken stuffs from Bengal, and many Muhammadan merchants were engaged in commerce between Bengal and Calicut.³

"The manufactures of Dacca," on the authority of Vertomannus, "were exported to Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Persia, and fifty ships laden with cloth of Bombasin and silk were despatched annually to the aforesaid countries."⁴

Barbosa who visited Bengal about a decade after Varthema gives us a description of the commercial activities of Bengal that corroborate his predecessor in several points. [Many Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, says he, came here for trade. These merchants were owners of large ships with which they traded to Coromandel, Malabar, Cambay, Pegu, Tenasserin, Sumatra, Ceylon,

Malacca, &c. Bengal was rich in cotton, sugarcane plantations, ginger, and long pepper, and manufactured many kinds of stuffs extremely delicate, coloured for home consumption, and white for export. The stuffs were called *saravetis* excellent for women's head dress, and used by Arabs and Persians for caps. Many ship-loads of white sugar of very good quality were exported, packed up in raw-hide bags. Good preserves of various kinds of roots and fruits growing in the country attracted the notice of the traveller as they had done that of the Chinese visitors in the fourteenth century as recorded in Mahuan.]¹

Abul Fazl furnishes us with information about Bengal under the emperor Akbar from which [the Sarkar of Ghorāghāt appears to have produced silk and a kind of sackcloth, Sarkar Barbakabad a fine cloth called *Gangajal* (Ganges water), and Sarkar Sonārgāon a species of very fine muslin in great quantity. The mats were often made so fine that they resembled woven silk. There were iron mines in Sarkar Bazoha, a diamond mine at Harpah in Sarkar Madaran producing chiefly very small stones. Emeralds, pearls, cornelians, and agates were imported, as also diamonds.

The historian speaks of the fertility of the soil of Bengal which could produce three crops of rice of various kinds a year without any injury to itself. Long pepper grew in Mahmudabad. Salt was brought from long distances.

In Sarkar Satgāon, there were two ports Satgāon and Hughli,² one mile apart. The latter began to eclipse the former in commercial importance in the latter half of the sixteenth century owing to the silting up of the Saraswati that had maintained her high position from the Pauranic age. Chittagong was now an excellent port and the resort of Christian and other merchants.]³

Abul Fazl adds that in every part of Akbar's empire, ships were numerous, but in Bengal, Kashmere and Sindh, they were the pivot of all commerce.⁴

The excellence of the rich cloths and manufactures of Malda and Bengal received

1. R. H. Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century' [Hakluyt Society (henceforth abbreviated into "Hak. Soc.") 1867 p. 6; also Elliot, op. cit., IV, p. 96. Commercial intercourse between Bengal and Ormuz is also noted by Barbosa (Hak. Soc., publication, 1866, p. 42.).

2. 'Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, (Hak. Soc., 1863), p. 212.

3. 'Travels of Ludovico di Varthema,' p. 151.

4. Vertomannus (1503) as quoted in Taylor's 'Topography and Statistics of Dacca,' p. 188.

1. 'Barbosa' (Hak. Soc.), pp. 179, 180.

2. Found by the Portuguese in 1537.

3. 'Ain-i-Akbari,' (Jarrett's transl.), pp. 121-125 and 125 f. n. 2.

4. 'Ibid.' (Blochmann), p. 279.

a deserved recognition by Sher Shah who singled them out for presentation to Shaikh Khalil when the latter came to him on an embassy from Humayun.¹

The voyager Linschoten gives us a glimpse of Bengal commerce and industries of the eighth decade of the century in his account which notices the production of much fine cotton linen exported to all the eastern countries and Portugal, a kind of excellently wrought yellow yarn from which coverlets, pavilions, pillows, carpets, mantles &c., were made, and sugar in plenty. He refers also to the export of civet, rice in ships to foreign countries, and the brisk traffic between Chaul and Bengal.²

[Fitch, one of the first three merchants to visit Bengal in the eighties of this century came to Satgāon from Agra accompanied by 180 boats laden with salt, opium, asafetida, lead, carpets and diverse other articles. Sonargāon produced the best and finest cotton cloth and Bengal supplied rice to all India, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places.]³ He mentions some other commercial places of Bengal viz., Tanda, Bacra, Sripur, Sandwipa. The city of Gaur was perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal at this time.⁴ One Saikh Bhik, a cloth merchant of this place, is said to have sailed to Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths, of which two were wrecked near the Persian Gulf.⁵

[Commerce between Bengal and Cochin, as Lancaster tells us, supplied the latter with various kinds of fine woven goods for re-export to Portugal. Achen (in Sumatra) had also commercial connections with Bengal.]⁶ This Bengal-Achen commerce is also mentioned by the navigator John Davis (1599).⁷

This century is an important one in the commercial history of Bengal in as much as

it saw the opening of its first regular commercial relations with the Portuguese.

Since 1518 Chittagong was annually visited by a Portuguese ship for purchase of merchandise for Portugal but Hughli was their first and Chittagong was their second settlement.¹ [During Akbar's reign, the Portuguese merchants used to come here from various parts of India for selling the goods they brought, and buying those found in the province. Their wares were taken mostly from the Malaccas, Sumatra, Borneo &c., with the exception of cowries from the Maldives, conchshells from Tuticorin and Tinnevely, pepper from Malabar, and cinnamon from Ceylon. Of the above mentioned imports, the principal were worked China silks such as brocade, brocatelles, cloth, velvets, damasks, satins, taffetas, taffissirias, escommillas (muslins) in every variety of colour excepting black. The Portuguese were also carriers of many articles from China, viz., porcelain, all kinds of gilt furniture such as bedsteads, tables, chests, writing desks, boxes, and curios; and pearls, and jewels of great value made in the European style but with greater skill and cheapness. They imported likewise white and red sandal-wood in great quantities from kingdoms of Solor (?) and Timor (?), cloves, nutmegs, and mace from the Malaccas and Banda, and camphor from Borneo. All these articles specially the more valuable were taken by sadagars (Bengal merchants) to the Imperial Court at Agra.]²

EVIDENCE IN BENGALI LITERATURE (10TH TO 16TH C.)

A search of the early Bengali literature can yield names of raw and manufactured products that formed articles of Bengal commerce, and give an idea of the trading voyages made by the merchants. The *Sunya-Purāna* (10th to 11th c.), has reference to the cultivation of cotton for the manufacture of cotton cloths³ while the *Song* of Mānik Chandra (11th to 12th c.), speaks of the sale of chalk and hemp-stalks as a profit-

1. Elliot, IV, p. 371, ('Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi').
2. 'The Voyage of Linschoten to the E. Indies' (Hak. Soc., 1885) vol. I, pp. 94-96.
3. 'Purchas His Pilgrims' (ed 1905) vol. 10, pp. 175, 184, 185.
4. Dr. Mookerji's 'Indian Shipping,' pp. 219, 220, 221.
5. Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' vol. VII, p. 95 as quoted in the 'Indian Shipping,' p. 221.
6. Lancaster's 'Voyage to the E. Indies' (Hak. Soc. 1877), pp. 15, 16, 82. Lancaster was in India in the nineties of the sixteenth century.
7. 'Purchas His Pilgrims,' vol. p. 322.

1. 'Cal. Review' (No. 143, 1881, vol. 72), p. 113 "Notes on the Early Commerce in Bengal" by Peary Chand Mitra.

2. "Manrique in Bengal" (transld. by Rev. L. Cardon, S. J., and annotated and edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.), in 'Bengal Past and Present,' 1916, pp. 286, 287.

3. 'Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature' by Rai Shaheb Dinesh Chandra Sen, pt. I, p. 112.

able concern.¹ There are references also to jute *pākhādī* (i.e., khesa, a kind of cloth),² *Sitalpānī* (a finesort of mat),³ Indra-blanket,⁴ jute-sādī (jute cloth for use by ladies)⁵ &c. The *Manasā-mangalā*⁶ (12th c.), by Kānā (one-eyed) Hari Datta speaks of Chānd Sadāgar's gains of commerce as amounting to fourteen boatfuls of precious stones. This may be a poetic hyperbole but yet testifies to the high place that commerce occupied in the estimation of the people as a source of profits. The *Padma Purāṇa* (or *Manasā Mangalā*) by Vijaya Gupta written in the last decade of the fifteenth century gives a graphic description of Chānd Sadāgar's commercial voyage to Ceylon [with his fourteen boats full of various articles interesting for the present purpose. They included precious stones, coarse cotton and jute cloths, and various roots, fruits, drugs, grains, and live-stock. The bartering of these articles at Ceylon fetched him conchshells, precious stones, gold, pearls, corals, metal utensils, cinnabar, grapes and other fruits, plants, live-stock, elephant tusks &c.].⁷ A different work on the same theme as above but by a different writer, Dvija Vamsidāsa, a contemporary of the aforesaid Vijaya Gupta, gives us in his account of Chānd's sea-voyage to Ceylon and the bartering that followed at the place, a list of articles many of which do not appear in the previous enumeration, such as canopy, mosquito-curtain, carpet, bed, camp, shamiāna sheet, &c., all made of jute; and oil, ghee, narcotics, spices &c.⁸ We shall conclude with borrowings from Mukundarāma's realistic description of the merchant and artizan castes who were compelled to leave their hearths and homes destroyed by an inundation, and settle in another place. No treatment of the commerce and industries of the Hindus is complete unless it puts as a

standing background the various crafts and commercial activities that a caste-system allocating to certain castes those functions always implies. Some of the Vaisyas are represented as engaged in agriculture, some in cattle-rearing, some other in money-lending. The traders among them make cheap purchases of goods at the proper seasons for selling them with a large margin of profits. Some travel from place to place and town to town for selling their diamonds, sapphires, pearls and corals. Some equip their boats with merchandise for journeys to various towns and bring back conch-shells, chowries and sandalwood. They buy and sell one or other of these, viz., blankets made of long hairs of the Tartary bulls and cows, horses and elephants with their trappings, young camels, *pattīsās* (spears with sharp edges) and coats of mail. There settle the *Potters* making earthen vessels and earthen frames of musical instruments; hundreds of *Weavers* weaving *bhūnī* (i.e. sādī or cloth for ladies), *dhūtī-khādī* (small sādīs), and *gadī* (i.e. sheets); *Blacksmiths* forging spades, axes, plough-shares, hoes, coats of mail, and spears; the *Telis*,—some engaged in agriculture, some expressing oil out of seeds with the *ghīnī* (oil-pressing machine), while the rest buying and selling it in the market; the *Gopas* with their homes filled with wheat, sesamum, pulses, mustard and cotton grown on their fields; the *Sankha-vāniks* cutting conch-shells, *Mani-vāniks* selling precious stones, *Aguris* pursuing their own occupation (e.g. agriculture), *Modakas* making sugar and sweets, *Gandha-vāniks* selling such articles as spices, &c., incense; the *Mālis* vending garlands among other wares special to them, *Bāruis* growing betel, *Tūmbulis* selling betel leaves dressed with betel-nuts; the *Brasiers* making various kinds of brazen articles, and so on with the various other castes which space does not permit me to enumerate. Suffice it to remark that the numerous castes and sub castes ministered to quite a number of industries enough for meeting the limited material wants of the people of those days. The work also names a number of Muhammadan communities with their peculiar industrial or commercial functions].¹

1. 'Typical Selections from Old Bengali literature' by Rai Shaheb Dinesh Chandra Sen, Pt. I, p. 28.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 48. The 'Rāmāyana' of Kirtivāsa (*Ibid.*, p. 492, 14th c.) has 'majuri' (a kind of mat) and 'neta' (a kind of silk sheet).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

7. 'Padma-Purāṇa' ('Manasā-mangalā') by Vijaya Gupta, ed. by Pandit Tārāprasanna Ghose Vidyavinode, pp. 120, 129-131, & 140.

8. Vamsidāsa's 'Padma-Purāṇa', ed. by Messrs. Ramanāth & Dwārkanāth Chakravarty, pp. 289, 378, 380, 385-387.

1. 'Kavikankana-Chandī by Mukundarāma Chakravartī, ('Vangabāsi ed.), pp. 87-91. See also 'Calcutta Review,' vol. 93 (1891), 352 ff., Guru Proshad Sen, 'A Glimpse of Bengal in the 16th c. A. D.'

FAMINES IN BUDDHIST INDIA¹

BY PROF. KISHORIMOHAN GUPTA, M. A.

THE economic life of the people during the Buddhist period, unlike the Vedic, was disturbed by occasional outbreaks of famine: sometimes these were of terrible nature. The Buddhist Pāli literature abounds in reference to such famines: the realm of Benares seems to have been specially subjected to these calamities.²

CAUSES AND NATURE OF THE FAMINES.

There were two main causes that brought about the distress. In the first place the regions along some of the rivers were subject to occasional floods; and secondly, failure of the monsoon was calculated to give rise to drought in comparatively high regions. As an instance of the former we read in the *Gahapati Jātaka*: "All the grain had been carried away during the rainy season and there was a famine" (*tadā pana antovasse vijesu nihatesu chātaka ahoṣi*). The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* describes the famine and pestilence that broke out in the city of Dantapura in the realm of Kālinga (*tasmin kāla kalingaratthe dantapurānagare . . . devo na vassi, tasmin avassante sakalaratthe chātakam jātam, āhāravipattiyaṇa manussānam rogo udapādīti duvutthibhayam chātakabhayam roga-bhayānati tīni bhayāni upajjimsu*). In the *Divyāvadāna* is given an account of a famine that broke out in Benares owing to drought and that lasted for twelve years. We are incidentally told that there are three kinds of famines, namely, the famine called *Caṇu* or 'Box'; the *Swetāsthi* or white-bone famine, during which people collect bones, boil them into stew and drink it; the *Salākāvrtti* or

rod-using famine, during which people collect rice and molasses from holes (of ants or rats), boil them and drink the beverage. Now in Benares all the three kinds of famine broke out during the reign of King Brahmadatta.³ The *Santi-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* describes a terrible famine that brought in a fearful state of cannibalism at the close of the *Treta*, and the beginning of the *Dwāpara* age.⁴ This account of the famine is in no way less harrowing than that of the Bengal famine of 1770.⁵

4. *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell) page 131-2 : . . . *Vāṇa-nasyām naimittikair dvādasa-varṣikānāvrttir vyākṛtā trividham durbhikṣam bhaviṣyati—caṇu svetaṣṭhi salākāvrtti ca ; tatra caṇu ucyate sāmudgake, tasmin manusya vijāni praksipyānagate sattvāpekṣayā sthāpayanti mṛtgnām, anena te vijakṣyam karisyantīti idam sāmudgakam baddhvā caṇu ucyate ; svetaṣṭhi nāma durbhikṣam—tasmin kāle manusya āsthiṇy upasamhṛtya tavat kvāthayanti yāvāt tānya āsthiṇi svetaṇi samvṛtāntīti, tatatast kvātham pivanti, idam svetaṣṭhi durbhikṣam ityucyate ; salākāvrttināma—tasmin kāle manusya khalu vilebhyo dhānyagudakāni salākayākṣya vahūdakasthālyām kvāthayitva pivanti, iyaṁ salākāsambaddhatvāccchalākāvrttirityucyate. . . .*

5. Chapter 141 : *Ucchinna kṛsigoraksanivṛtta vipaṇāpana, nivṛttayūpasambhāṇa vipranasta mahotsava*. 19. *asthiṣaṇcaṇamkirṇamahābhūtaravakulā, sūnyabhūyistanagarādagdhaḡṛāmanivesaṇa*. 20. *kvacitghoraiḥ kvacicchasthaiḥ kvacidrājabhīṣṭurair, parasparabhayāc chaiva sūnyabhūyisthanirjaṇa*. 21. *gatadāivatasamsthānā vṛddhalokanirakṛtā, gojāvi-mahisihīṇā parasparāhātā*. 22. *hataviprāḡhaṭrakṣa prānastausadhisaṇcayā, sarvabhūtatapurāya vabhuvā vasudhā tadā*. 23. *tasmin pratibhaya kāle ksate dharme yudhisthira, vabhuvuh ksudhitaḡ marttyaḡ khādamanāḡ parasparam*. 24.

Mahāvagga (VI. 23) tells us that during a famine people ate elephants' flesh, dogs' flesh etc.

6. "The husbandmen sold their cattle ; they sold their implements of agriculture ; they devoured their seed-grain ; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found ; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field ; and in June 1770 the Resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead. Day and night a torrent of famished and disease-stricken wretches poured into the great cities. At an early period of the year pestilence had broken out. . . . The streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and dead. Interment could not do its work quick enough ; even dogs and jackals . . . became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude

1. A chapter from the writer's *Economic History of Ancient India* from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan Conquest (in preparation).

2. *Viraka Jātaka* (no. 204 in Fausboll's edition) ; *Gahapati Jātaka* (199) ; *Maccha Jātaka* (75) ; *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (276) ; *Cullavagga* (VI. 21) speaks of a famine at Rajagṛha. Also *Mahāvagga* VI. 19, 2 and VI. 32, 2, also refer to scarcity.

3. I have not been able to make out the meaning. The original is given below.

The *Rājatarangini* describes a famine of similar character, that broke out during the reign of Tunjina I, owing to the destruction of rice-crop in consequence of a heavy snowfall.⁷ In weighing the causes of famine in the Buddhist age another factor should be taken into consideration, namely, the pressure of population since the Vedic age. In the Buddhist period lands comparatively exposed to inclemencies of the seasons had to be taken up.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST FAMINES.

Of the preventive measures against drought we notice, in the first place, various methods adopted for the purpose of irrigating the land. Dams were constructed with a view to check the flow of water from rivers or lakes. Says Kunāla Jātaka: "The Sakiya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohini which flows between the cities of Kapilavattha and Koliya confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. In the month, Jetthamūla when crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from both the cities assembled together. Then the Koliyans said, 'Should this water be drawn off on both sides it will not prove sufficient for both us and you. But our crops will thrive with a single watering: give us then the water.'⁸ The Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (c. 150 A.D.) speaks of the two famous Maurya emperors as bestowing immense care on the lake Sudarsana in maintaining its dam for irrigation purposes.⁹ In the second place canals were constructed to ward off difficulties arising from a failure of the monsoon. Referring to the public administration of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes says (c. 4th century B.C.): "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it."¹⁰ Kautilya, too, refers

to canals (*kulyāvāpānām*),¹¹ many of which were no doubt constructed by Chandragupta. He also speaks of the sluices referred to by Megasthenes and of the rules regarding the maintenance of the flow of water: "Persons letting out water of tanks, etc., at any other place than their sluice gate, shall pay a fine of six panas; and persons who recklessly obstruct the flow of water from the sluice gate of tanks shall also pay the same fine."¹² "Persons who obstruct or make any kind of mischief with the flow of water intended for cultivation shall be punished with the first amercement."¹³ There was a royal injunction that "all permanent houses shall be provided with a dunghill (*avaksara*), water-courses (*bhrama*), and a well (*udapānam*).¹⁴ The Maurya Emperors not only constructed canals, tanks, lakes, etc., at their own expenses, but also encouraged private enterprises in this direction. Says Kautilya: "In the case of construction of new works, such as tanks, lakes, etc., taxes (on the lands below such tanks) shall be remitted for five years. For repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water-works, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly-started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on the lands below such works shall be remitted for two years."¹⁵ We may now thus enumerate the various methods of irrigation as adopted in Maurya India:

(a) Irrigation by manual labour (*has-taprāvartimam*).

(b) Irrigation by carrying water on shoulders (*skandhaprāvartimam*).

(c) Irrigation by water-lifts (*sroto-yantraprāvartimam*).

(d) Irrigation by raising water from

11. Arthasāstra (Sāstri's translation) Bk. II, ch. XXIV, p. 143.

12. Arthasāstra III, 9, p. 217. The original runs thus: *Setubhyo muñcata stoyamapare satpana damah pare vā toyamanyesgm pramādenoparundhatah*.

13. Arthasāstra III, 10, p. 217. Megasthenes speaks of rivers and Kautilya of tanks. There is no doubt that both the writers mean to include both tanks and rivers.

14. Arthasāstra (Sāstri's translation) Book III, ch. 8, p. 211.

15. Arthasāstra III, 9 p. 216.

of mangled and festering corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens."—Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, 26-27.

7. *Rājatarangini*, taranga II.

8. Fausboll, *Jātaka* no. 536.

9. See Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III or *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII, 36.

10. Megasthenes (McCrindle), Fragment XXXIV (Book III).

rivers, lakes, tanks, and wells (nadisaras-tatakakupodghātam).¹⁶

The first two methods were crude. In the last two methods were probably employed chainpumps which are referred to in the Rig-Veda,¹⁷ and undoubtedly bullocks and wind-power (vātaprāvartimanandi-nivandhāyatana).¹⁸

PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST FAMINES.

At one time, probably before the establishment of the Maurya autocracy, the tribal chief or the village headman was undoubtedly responsible for the protection of his people. In the Gahapati Jātaka¹⁹ we are told that during a famine caused by a flood "all the villagers came together and besought help of their headman, saying 'Two months from now when we have harvested the grain we will pay you in kind;' so they got an old ox from him and ate it." Kautilya enumerates the various duties rendered by the king during a famine. In the first place he had to remit taxes²⁰ and had no doubt to advance loans of grains, cattle, and money.²¹ The officer who discharged this royal function was called Kothāgārādhyakṣa, Superintendent of the Stores. He had to help the people with stores in times of calamities, half of the whole provision having been reserved for such emergencies.²² The king is also directed to distribute the hoarded wealth of the rich among the poor,²³ or seek help from his friends among

kings.²⁴ Or he may adopt the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue (karsanam) or causing them to vomit their wealth (vamanam).²⁵ "Or he may remove himself with his subjects to sea-shores or to the banks of rivers or lakes. He may cause his subjects to grow grains, vegetables, roots, and fruits, wherever water is available. He may by hunting and fishing on a large scale provide the people with wild beasts, birds, elephants, tigers, or fish."²⁶ Lastly the king is advised to emigrate with his subjects to another kingdom with abundant harvest.²⁷ The Divyāvadāna tells us that when a famine broke out in the realm of Benares, the king directed those of his people who had enough sustenance for twelve years, to stay in the kingdom; and those who had not, to migrate to and settle, where there was peace and plenty, till the bad times were over.²⁸

THE STATEMENT OF MEGASTHENES REGARDING THE ABSENCE OF FAMINE EXAMINED.

From the above it is clear that the Buddhist India was much disturbed by occasional outbreaks of famine and that elaborate measures were adopted to check them. Megasthenes remarks: "In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called bosporum, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously... It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food."²⁹ The fact probably is that the famous Greek traveller visited India at a time when the land was flowing with milk and honey and the memories of famines had almost completely died out. This material prosperity was due partially to the Mauryan system of Government,

16. Arthashastra II, 24, p. 144.

17. X, 93, 13: the reference is indirectly to "ghatīyantra." The original runs thus: yāvarta yesam rayā yuktaiṣam hiranyai, nemadhītā na paumsya vrtheve vistāmta. (Śāyana comments: vistāmta vyaptāvasanā vrtheva yathā ghatikāyantramālā tadvadītyarthah.) In another passage we come across the "kucakra," which according to Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 157) implies a wheel for raising water from a well. The Vedic text runs thus: parivṛkteva patividyamnatpipyānā kucakrena siñcana esaisyā cidrathya jayema sumangalam sinavadastusatam. Rig-Veda X, 102, 11.

18. Arthashastra, III, 9, p. 216. Compare also Cullavagga I, 13, 2.

19. Fausboll, Jātaka no. 199: tadā pana antovasse vijesu nīhatesu cātakam ahoṣi sassānam gavbhagahanakālo jāto, sakkalāggaṃvāsino ito māsadavayena sassaṃni uddharitvā vīhim dassamā'ti ekato hutvā ggaṃabhojanakassa hatthato ekam jaragonam gahetvā mamsam khādimsu.

20. Arthashastra II, 1, p. 52.

21. Arthashastra II, 1, p. 52: IV, 3, p. 262.

22. Ibid II, 15, p. 115: IV, 3, p. 262.

23. Ibid IV, 3 p. 263.

24. Arthashastra IV, 3, p. 263.

25. Ibid IV, 3, p. 263.

26. Ibid IV, 3, p. 263.

27. Arthashastra IV, 3, p. 263.

28. Divyāvadāna 132: yesam vo dvādasavarsikam bhaktam asti taiḥ sthātabyam, yesam nāsti te yathesam gacchantu, vigatadurbhiksabhayaḥ subhikse punarapya upāgamisyanti.

29. Megasthenes (McCrindle), Fragment I, p. 31-32.

and partially, as Magasthenes says, to the "usage observed by the Indians which contributes to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the

soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."³⁰

30. Megasthenes (McCrindle), Fragment I, p. 33.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. MAN AND MACHINE POWER IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, by Capt. J. W. Petavel, R. E. (Retd.) with a Foreword by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C. S. I. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1918.

This book is the outcome of a series of lectures on the subject of educational colonies delivered by Capt. Petavel in the Calcutta University under the auspices of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who introduces the subject to the public in a brief Foreword. Through the untiring and self-sacrificing efforts of Capt. Petavel and his English colleague, Mr. J. R. Pennington, the general idea of such colonies has now become pretty familiar to the educated classes of all countries. The plan is to found self-supporting educational institutions aiming at giving theoretical *cum* practical training in the different branches of industry, beginning with agriculture and allied industries. At first the colonies would have to be subsidised as they would admit only the younger members of the community, whose labour would be easy to manipulate though not economically remunerative but by and by as the colonies became self-supporting and proved their utility they would draw to themselves adult members of both sexes.

Capt. Petavel is of opinion that most of the evils of the present economic order—such as unemployment, cut-throat competition, and consequent low wages and a low standard of living—result from the demand for commodities not keeping pace with the enormous productive power of modern industrialised communities. The remedy lies in the workers ceasing to produce for the market, as they have been doing under the existing individualist regime, and producing all the main necessities of life for themselves in co-operative associations of the educational colonies type. Thus they would combine the best points of socialism and co-operation and make sure though slow progress towards a more rational order of things. A more opportune moment for the realisation of this scheme, when the question of the profitable employment of millions of demobilised soldiers—many of whom are skilled workmen and would make excellent teachers in the educational colonies—is racking the brains of statesmen in all countries, would never arrive. In fact, the author

boldly prophesies that unless some such constructive scheme of reform is adopted without delay, the whole of the present unstable social order is bound to come tumbling down like a house of cards in the face of the active hostility of the working classes to whom the war has acted as a great eye-opener.

The colonies are intended primarily for the benefit of the so-called working classes. They will not exercise any direct influence upon the problem of middle class unemployment which has become so acute in many parts of India today. There are also likely to be difficulties in the way of their successful application to the working classes. The analogy of the Swiss colony, whose example the author is never tired of citing, does not seem to us to be generally applicable. The colonies will require large working capitals to start with, which will have to be subscribed privately, in many cases without hope of immediate or adequate return; and what the author considers to be a most essential feature of his scheme, *viz.*, that the colonies should as a rule admit only boys and immature persons at first, is itself sure to militate against their economic success and stability. Whether they can ultimately become so prosperous as to be able to wipe out the deficits of the early stages of their growth remains to be seen.

2. A PROPOSAL FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY, by Anukul Chandra Ray, Manager, Wards' Estates, Comilla.

The author's thesis is that the establishment of co-operative credit societies has given the ryots access to cheap money, but they do not know how best to utilise it. The Agricultural Department cannot reach the individual ryot. So the establishment of Agricultural Associations all over the country for the improvement of the economic, moral, educational, and sanitary conditions of the agriculturists' life is a great desideratum. For the useful work of these Associations sufficient funds could be obtained from local cesses supplemented by subscriptions, subventions from the Government and District Boards, and other local sources of income, such as pound and ferry fees, etc. Such associations exist in many countries and are doing very useful work.

3. THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL INDIA, being the reprint of an article by S. Ambavanesswar,

M.A., B.L., from the 'East and West' of July, 1918.

The author argues that while industrial conditions everywhere are undergoing rapid transformation demanded by time, India alone continues to live her life of unchanged old world simplicity and ease. But the days of simple living and high thinking are gone, never to return. Industrialism is the order of the day, and if India wants to live and thrive in these days of hard competition and world strife, she must do as the progressive nations of the world are doing. Agriculture can no longer give adequate or secure subsistence to her large and ever-increasing population, as the war has clearly demonstrated. A great industrial revival has become a *sine qua non* for her continued existence. If proof were needed of her capacity for such a development, it is offered by the history of her past industrial greatness. What she lacks to-day is the will to develop, and the people lack this will as much as the Government.

Mr. Ambravaneswar is, like the majority of Indian economists, a follower of the German economist List. He believes in Protection: "Free trade is suitable and beneficial only when a certain stage of industrial development has been reached and until then protection is necessary and justifiable," he says. State aid is also necessary for the supply of a properly trained labour force, expert entrepreneurs, adequate and cheap transport, proper banking facilities, and an acceptable and automatic currency system. An industrial revival need not lead to the total disappearance of cottage industries if care is taken to improve them by the establishment of Co-operative Societies among the cottage workers.

4. DEBT REDEMPTION AMONG THE URBAN LABOURING CLASSES, by Gopal Krishna Devadhar, M.A. A Paper read before the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference, 1914.

Till recently, the Co-operative Credit movement in India has been confined to the rural classes. Little or no attempt was made to extend its benefits to the working classes of our great industrial centres, though their need for cheaper credit is no less acute than that of the majority of our agricultural population. A welcome departure in this direction has been made in the Bombay Presidency and a number of Credit Societies has been started by Mr. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society and a few other public-spirited gentlemen. Though the movement is still in its infancy it already shows great promise of success. A strong committee has been formed to supervise the work and Mr. Devadhar is the Organising Secretary. The pamphlet under review records the progress made upto August, 1914. We heartily support the author's appeal for funds (for which a high rate of interest is paid) and personal service, which such a movement fully deserves.

P. C. BANERJEE.

ELEMENTARY PHYSICS. AN EXPERIMENTAL COURSE FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS. By H. E. H. Pratt, M.A., I.E.S., Inspector of Science Teaching in the Bombay Presidency, 1918. Cr. Svo, 180 pages. Price Rs. 1-6.

The author tells us in the Preface that "experimental work in science presents special difficulties in India. Very few schools have either good laboratories or sufficient apparatus. Neither have they the money to spend on these things. Yet elementary science,

worth teaching at all, must be taught experimentally. In the following pages the aim of the author has been to provide a simple experimental course financially within the reach of any school." We agree with the author in his remarks regarding the necessity of experimental teaching in physical science, and the pecuniary difficulties which confront the majority of our schools. It is said that Bengal lags behind the other provinces in introducing physical science in schools, because it cannot afford the money needed. In the opinion of the author "for about a thousand rupees enough apparatus can be provided for every boy in the school for classes of twenty to be taken at a time and for every boy to work separately when necessary." Though this sum is too large for many schools, it is not money but the correct educational ideal that is wanting. For, given a teacher of the right type and facilities in the way of accommodation and time-table, much experimental work may be carried on even in remote village schools at an almost nominal cost. The author recommends, for instance, a balance worth about Rs. 7, capable of weighing up to .03 grams with small loads and standing the rough handling by school boys. If every boy has to be provided with a balance of this type, the cost for a class of twenty will amount to a pretty large sum. One way of reducing the cost is to supply half the number. But this will certainly hamper the general work of the class unless the teacher is fully competent to distribute it. The other way is to have still cheaper balances. The writer of this review in his younger days converted an apothecaries' hand-scale costing Rs. 2-8 (with weights) into a good serviceable balance on a pillar of brass rod, capable of weighing up to .001 grams. The suspending stirrup was soldered to the brass rod, and a thin brass strip carefully notched at equal intervals throughout the whole length was attached to the ends of the iron beam with solder. There was also a long index of brass wire. The whole balance was the work of three or four afternoons. Messrs. Gallenkamp and Co., of London sell what they call Grace's attachment (for rider) made on the same principle. It appears possible to have similar balances made by Scientific Instrument makers sensitive to one-hundredth of a gram at a cost, say, Rs. 60 per dozen. The fact is, very few teachers bestow any thought on devising cheap yet substantial apparatus for students' use, because finished articles of European manufacture though expensive are ready at hand.

A glance at the contents of the book shows that the author has described in as few words as possible 135 experiments covering the whole range of elementary physics except sound and statistical electricity. Many experiments are adaptations of those usually found in books written as practical guides, but some show ingenuity. The notes on the fittings and the management of a school laboratory are no less instructive. The book will serve the purpose of a handbook on practical work and will be found useful to teachers. The Bombay Presidency is to be congratulated upon having an enthusiastic Inspector with ideas who considers it a part of his duty to devise ways and means and undertakes to show how science teaching in schools may be made efficient.

At the same time we cannot refrain from asking the question whether the author has not attempted to teach too much, and whether he has sufficiently realised the language difficulty of our boys. The Syllabus of Studies prescribed for schools in the Bombay Presidency is not before us. Nor do we know whether a course of chemistry, albeit shorter, is

included. There are certainly other subjects which the boys have to learn. In the circumstances it is questionable how far this course of physics has been judiciously framed. Allowing two years for this course, 135 experiments requiring perhaps 135 hours appear to us too many. They are no doubt easy, but time limit is an important item in schools. Besides, it is the *experimental method* and not so much the facts themselves which are educative. The British people have not been able to discard their old unscientific system of measurement, and the Indian boy has to learn this as well as the metric system which has no practical application in life except in higher studies. He cannot, however, ignore the indigenous system which serves him in daily life. Think of the mental toil of the young boy who is forced by circumstances to be acquainted with the three systems! It no doubt sharpens his mathematical intellect, but tends to make his knowledge unreal. What a tremendous sacrifice he makes when he has to thread his way into the domain of knowledge through the insuperable barrier of a difficult foreign tongue! The false analogy of English boys learning a great deal more than our Indian boys has wrought many a mischief in the school and college curriculum of this country. We hope the learned author who is fortunately also the judge will kindly tell us how far his book practically meets with success.

J. C. RAY.

THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA, by V. A. Smith. Seventh Edition. Revised and enlarged; with 14 maps and 34 illustrations (Oxford).

The book written and published in 1908 was designed, as mentioned in the preface to the 7th edition, "primarily to meet the wants of students preparing for the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University." Though the scope of the book has been extended far beyond that limit, the volume should be judged as a *text book* meant for Indian students of the age of 15 or 16. How far our students of that age have the capacity of assimilating such a bewildering variety of concrete facts, as we find in Mr. Smith's book, is a question which has not yet troubled the omniscient syllabus makers of the University and we cannot expect Mr. Smith to bother his head about it. But the fact remains unchallenged that Clío, the Muse of History, is losing her votaries year after year and History is gradually becoming a *positive horror* with the examinees. For that sublime achievement we must also congratulate the august examiners, ploughing students with relentless justice reflected from the numbered papers of *essential points* supplied by the Head Examiner! No wonder that the poor examinees prepare tabloids of possible questions and pillules of the mangled limbs of Clío to overcome the enjoyable *examination ague* of March.

Such an abnormal state of historical study would have been cured had more emphasis been laid on the general development of the Historic Personality of India rather than on the detailed enumeration (and compulsory memorising) of isolated events. The students now can recapitulate the points in one breath but they miss the historical perspective totally. The surfeit of the *concrete* is narrowing their mind, ruining their human appetite and crippling their historical imagination. The best cure for it would be a healthy stress on the *biological* rather than on the *morphological* aspect of history. That presupposes a synthetic vision of the entire history

of a nation in the author of the historical text book and genuine sympathy with the people. Some Indian scholar, like Mr. K. P. Jaysawal, should take it up. Mr. V. A. Smith is an *ideal compiler* and as such he has managed to bring forward an ideal text book of the morphological school. Here he is easily the first in the field and other rival matriculation text books simply pale into insignificance by the side of its wealth of detail, lucidity of style and thoroughness of presentation.

THE INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION, by Prof. A. D. Dhopeshwarker, M.A., LL.B. (Karachi).

This compilation proposes to cover the Intermediate History syllabus of the Bombay University. The scope of the syllabus, we suppose, is the slow and, at the first stage, almost imperceptible infiltration of the West in the soil of Indian history and the consequent growth of a new polity, new culture and new atmosphere in the course of four centuries starting from 1502 when Pope Alexander VI constituted the King of Portugal "Lord of Navigation, Conquest and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." This stupendous phenomenon of Indian history, requires very delicate handling. The records are so copious and authorities so conflicting that mere enumeration or compilation is sure to produce a highly narrow and partial interpretation unless checked at every step by the regulative idea of organic historical evolution. That is the thing which we generally miss in a compilation like this and here the craftsman is not so much to blame as the inherent limitation of his tools. The author is very painstaking and up-to-date utilising every state-record down to the Islington Commission Report and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. But his attitude is thoroughly *mechanistic*. Hence he describes, and not without justification, the New Polity as "a magnificent machine forged for the administration of the country." We totally miss the redeeming features of the delineation of the New Culture and the New Atmosphere which are no less important to young students of history. With the exception of certain occasional and rather unfortunate excursion, into the domain of historical generalisations, it is a good compilation and should be used as such by students.

KALHAN.

AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY: by Pandurang Damodar Gune, M.A. (Bombay), Ph. D. (Leipzig), Professor of Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona. Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 13 Shukrawar, Poona City, 1918. Price Rs. 3.

This is a book which will be given a cordial reception by all interested in philological studies, as it removes a long-felt want. Comparative Philology has been introduced into the curriculum for some of the language examinations in the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Students of Indo-Aryan Philology in this country were put to great difficulties through the want of a good hand-book on the subject. Barring the Wilson Philological Lectures of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, which have been published in book-form only in 1914, there was no work to meet the requirements of our students, most of whom study Comparative Philology as part of their Sanskrit course. The standard works of Beames and Hoernle are on the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and as such they have only a special appeal,

Besides they are rather antiquated. The results of recent investigations into the history of language, particularly of the Indo-Germanic languages, are enshrined in works in German and other continental languages, for which reason the study of Philology is beset with difficulties for the average Indian student. There are a few excellent books on general Philology and on Indo-Germanic Philology in English too, but these are with reference mainly to the languages of Europe, modern and classical, and this considerably diminishes their value for the Indian student when he is not studying Teutonic or classical Philology. In his Foreword, Dr. Gune sufficiently indicates the need of a book like the present one. The publication is extremely opportune, and the author deserves the thanks of all students for it.

The work under review is in five parts :—*Part I* on the general Principles of Philology, the more important of which are discussed with as fulness as the narrow margin of 80 pages permits. The author undoubtedly was handicapped by considerations of space; but a more thorough treatment of the principles of Phonetics and of the more important Phonetic Laws would have added greatly to the value of the work. In *Part II* the different linguistic families are considered, together with the main points in the linguistic paleontology of the primitive Indo-Germans. *Part III* is taken up with the Indo-Iranian or Aryan group. The Vedic is compared with the Avestan and with the classical Indo-Germanic speeches of the other branches in its phonology and its morphology. The results of the latest researches in Indo-Germanic Philology are brought for the first time before the Indian student in a very convenient form. *Part IV* presents a very well ordered *resume* of the linguistic history of India in the early Prakrit period, and gives a good account of the peculiarities of the older Prakrits—Pali and the dialects of the older Inscriptions. The last Part is in two sections—(1) the Literary Prakrits and (2) the Vernaculars. The plan of this part is necessarily on the model of the treatment of the same subjects by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, but we wish there was some account of the Apabhramsa dialects in Dr. Gune's book. The section on the Modern Vernaculars is rather meagre, as these are disposed of in only 30 pages. It seems that this part has been rather hastily done. But that is immaterial, as the broad lines of linguistic development are sufficiently clearly indicated, and the student who specialises in vernacular philology has Beames, Hoernle, Trumpp, Kellogg, Bhandarkar, Grierson, Tessitori, and others to fall back upon. The importance of Dr. Gune's work lies in the fact that it is the first up-to-date hand-book on Indo-Aryan Philology, which includes a treatment both of the general principles of Linguistics and of the special lines of development of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India from the primitive Indo-Germanic. A work like this should be speedily recognised by our universities by being prescribed as a text-book.

There is room for improvement, however, as there is in every work when it is published for the first time. We would suggest that a note on the pronunciation of the Avestan and Old Persian, Greek, Latin and Gothic words be given in the next edition for the benefit of students who receive no tutorial assistance. This could be advantageously treated under Phonetics. Again, Greek words might be given in roman characters—the practice of printing them in Greek characters has nothing but usage to recommend it. Bopp used Devanagiri, Avesta and other characters; Wright in his 'Comparative Grammar of

the Semitic Language's employed a variety of alphabets—Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic. One alphabet, the roman, has now been rightly substituted for all these in philological works; there is no reason why we should stick to the Greek letters, especially when the roman ones are so similar. In the Greek words as printed in Dr. Gune's book, the medial form of the lower case sigma has been used for the final one—a very inelegant typographical deviation which is perhaps due to the want of proper types, but which, it may be hoped, will be removed in the next edition, if the Greek characters are retained. In that case a table of Greek letters with roman equivalents will be desirable. A few misprints in the vernacular words require to be corrected in the next edition. Otherwise the printing and general get-up are excellent, and the author and the publishers are to be congratulated for having brought out so useful a work in such a handsome shape.

FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE : A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIO-RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN HINDU FOLK-INSTITUTIONS; by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., assisted by Hemendra Kumar Rakshit, B. A. (Wisconsin). Longmans Green and Co., 1917.

The scope of the work, as the author tells us in the Preface, is "mainly a study of the relations between Shaiva-cum-Shaktaism and Buddhism, both descriptive and historical, obtaining among the Bengali-speaking population of Eastern India." The title of the work therefore does not suggest the actual subject treated in it—it would seem somewhat to mislead the reader. The author gives a descriptive account of the popular Shaiva festival of Gambhira or Gajan, which is current among the Hindus of Bengal, and attempts to trace the origin and history of that festival. The connection between the decaying Mahayana Buddhism and the vigorous Shaiva and other Puranic cults, which gave birth to neo-Bengali Hinduism, the influence of a transformed Buddhist Dharmic-cult in modelling the present-day folk religion of Bengal, the result of the early impact of the Bengali mind with Islam, and the social life of the people of Bengal when a new Bengali-speaking Hindu nation was in the making,—these are among other topics dealt with in the work. Much of it however looks like a *rechauffe* or at the best an English adaptation of a valuable monograph, in Bengali, on the Gambhira by Babu Haridas Palit, acknowledgements to whose labours are made by Mr. Sarkar himself. Works by other Indian scholars in English and in Bengali have been amply drawn upon, and the author takes care to mention them in his preface and in footnotes. Mr. Sarkar brings in his own speculations regarding the historical aspect of the question, and regarding the inter-relation of the different cults which have been welded into one form by the people of Bengal under the inspiration of Puranic Hinduism. The author has laid stress on the scriptural religions—Mahayana Buddhism and Puranic Hinduism—rather than on the ethnic side—the real folk aspect of the question. Bengalis of the present day, like most peoples, are a mixed race, which is composed of Dravidian, Kol and Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman and Aryan elements. Much that is popular in Hindu religion—much of the "folk-element in Hindu culture" necessarily had its source in ideas and institutions, which were current among the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples,—ideas and institutions to which the key is now lost and which have been sought to pass for Aryan by Hindu and Buddhist labels being put on them. A study of Hindu institu-

tions with reference to the non-Aryan question can only be properly designated a study of the folk-element in them. But so far only a few books on the folk or indigenous element in Hindu religion have been written, mostly with reference to the Dravidian element. We may mention Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* and W. T. Elmore's *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*. In Bengal we shall have to consider the contribution of the Tibeto-Burmans in the Northern and Eastern districts, and of the Kols in the Western districts, besides that of the Dravidians, if we are to study the folk-element in our culture at its roots. A mere description and comparison of the derived cults, in their transformed and Aryanised shape, do not go deep enough, nor does an attempt at reconstruction of their history in the light of Sanskrit scriptures. But this is a new field, and workers with proper equipment there are few or none, to unravel the mystery of Bengali origins, racial, linguistic, social and religious. We require first a number of scholars like Sarat Chandra Roy, who is so great a student of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, to turn their attention to the contribution of the various Aryanised non-Aryans towards the evolution of the modern Bengali culture and modern Bengali society, before a study of the true "folk-element" can be taken in hand.

Mr. Sarkar's work runs to over 300 pages, of which some 50 are taken up with two very detailed indices. It seems he tends to be a bit prolix, and rambling too, occasionally; and his anxiety to impress his reader with a feeling of reverence for India and Indian institutions makes itself apparent, even though it is under restraint. As I have said before, much of the book is a *resume* in English of the views of Indian scholars on these topics. But it is a very good *resume*, eminently readable and informative; and a great deal of the information it gives to the non-Bengali reader is not to be had elsewhere in English. As such, every student of our social and cultural history should do well to read this work. Mr. Sarkar following Mr. Palit and others has attempted to reconstruct the social and religious conditions of the Bengali people of the time when Buddhist, Brahmanic and other ideas were in the melting pot—to be compounded and crystallised into the modern Hinduism of Bengal, with its various sects and its numerous gods and godlings. There are books on Bengali social history in the vernacular, which are mostly collections of traditions, which the compilers have sought to illumine with the light of their imagination. Mr. Sarkar and his co-adjudors may be said to have attempted to indicate the broad lines of Bengali life and thought in their formative period, and their basis is rightly enough the old literature and the folk institutions and cults of the land. I think this is the first systematic attempt of its kind in Bengal. Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen of the Calcutta University is engaged on a series of papers on the *Forces in the Development of Early Bengali Life and Literature*, which will form the subject of his lectures as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow next year. The material at the command of a veteran scholar like the Rai Sahib is undoubtedly greater than what Mr. Sarkar, working outside India, could gather, more so when Mr. Sarkar has not considered the Vaishnava cult and its vast literature. We shall see with interest how far Mr. Sarkar and Mr. Sen will be in agreement with each other in their views regarding the social and religious life of the Bengalis when they rise for the first time as a nation with a speech and a mentality of their own. The question

of the "folk element" in Bengali society and religion is of ethnological interest and importance, and it will be done by scholars yet to come.

Mr. Sarkar has appended an elaborate list of works relating to India and Hindu Culture, which, though not exactly of the nature of a bibliography relative to the topic, will give those who are interested, especially foreigners, an impetus to know more of our country, and will act as a valuable guide in formation of a good Indian library.

S. K. C.

SANSKRIT.

SREEMAD-BHAGABAD-GEETA. *Published by Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras. Cloth bound. Annas 12 only.*

This neatly printed and well bound volume contains the original slokas of the Geeta with a full index of them. This edition will be of great help for reference work, as the index has made it an easy task to find out any sloka if one can but remember the first word of it. We are really very glad to have it and so shall be every one whoever will buy a copy.

C. B.

BENGALI.

HERPHER—A NOVEL, by *Babu Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay*. *Published by Babu Suresh Chandra Banerji. Price Re. 1-12 as.*

Since the days of Bankimchandra Chatterji, we have had quite an enormous output of romantic novels in Bengali literature. The tendencies of this form of fiction are still ahead—the highly coloured, rhetorical cast of style, the ceaseless melodrama full of the stagiest clap-trap, the unpsychological presentations of human character, the frothy foam of impassioned lyric expressions, the amorous-sentimental attitudinising moods—but happily, the realistic impulse in the art of fiction is bringing about a reaction against the above tendencies of romanticism. Among the successors of Rabindranath Tagore, the writers of fiction who are coming into the forefront, are now distinguished by the more enduring qualities of fidelity to truth, psychological insight, absence of rhetorical devices and melodramatic attempts. They may be less 'catching', but certainly more enduring by the one great quality they possess—the sense of the real. Babu Saratchandra Chatterji and Babu Charuchandra Bannerji are the two realistic writers of fiction noteworthy in spite of all limitations and faults for having given our literature some narratives of actual life, of the abiding interest underlying the trivial details of everyday life raised into dramatic possibilities. Sarat Babu has given forth a richness and a variety thrilling with life. He is coarse, but coarse like the earth, lacking indeed in refined subtleties but plunging headlong into the seamiest sickest life. Charu Babu is less rich and varied, more inclined to the portraiture of 'higher' life. But at the same time, his sympathies are thrown with the squalid and the miserable sides of life. He discovers wonderful pathos and tenderness, dignity and forbearance, in a world where poverty and misery might have crushed out these finest flowers of the human mind for good and all.

"Herpher" is a realistic novel—taken from the student life of Bengal and showing in the character of the hero, Sisir, the possibilities of sturdy manhood and of pathetic tenderness in the midst of tragic pain

that might be found among the poverty-stricken, unhappy life of the student living in constant indignities. His tender relations with the women—the wife and the mother of his friend and afterwards enemy, Rajat, the rich fellow-student, and with the daughter of a harlot with whom he fell in love—have been depicted to be the real forces that led to his soul-uplift, the sturdy forbearance of his character. The dramatic possibilities of some of the women characters, especially of the two, Sandhya, the wife of his friend, and Bidyut, his beloved woman, have been left in the lurch. Consequently, the character of the former has been a little unnatural, while of the latter a little over-romantic. Sandhya might have been another 'Diana of the Crossways' of Meredith in an eastern atmosphere and colouring; while Bidyut might have been an 'Elena' of Turgenev, more complex and subtle and less melodramatic. But these defects do not mar the impression of the book which is refreshing, delightful and animating all throughout. I hope the reading public will give it a warm reception which it eminently deserves.

AJIT K. CHAKRAVARTY.

GUJARATI.

NAVAN LOKE GIT (नवां लोक गीत) by Mulji Dulla-bhaiji Ved, published by Mrs. Devkibai Mulji Ved, Bombay. Pp. 13. Paper cover. Unpriced. (1918).

This little pamphlet contains little songs, in which the writer sings of the duties of Indians, their patriotism, and their awakening. Some of them are very well adapted to collective singing, and in that way impress with greater force on the minds of the hearers the commendable sentiments they express.

BAL SHIKSHANA (बाल शिक्षण) by Mrs. G. K. Upadhyaya, published by the Bhagini Samaj, Bombay, Paper cover, pp. 95. Price As. 6. (1918).

Originally a prize essay, and being written by a woman, it very well sets out the chief parts in the education of a child. It is divided into thirty-seven chapters, and each one of them bears on some phase of child-life, regarding which useful instructions have been given.

SROTASWINI (स्रोतस्विनी), by Damodar Khushaldas Botadkar, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Paper cover, pp. 122. Price As. 12. (1918).

About six years ago a collection of poems called कल्लोखिनी brought into publicity the merits of Mr. Botadkar. The present collection marks an advance, in so far as the ideas expressed in the poems appear to be maturer. To one who has raised himself from a school teachership by means of self-culture to the position of a poet, esteemed and admired by many friends (vide his preface), the situation is no doubt worth congratulating oneself upon. The poems themselves breathe sincerity in every verse: there is no artificiality about the sentiments nor their expression. He expresses what he feels, and he expresses that with a directness which leaves no room for misapprehension. On the whole the collection invites perusal, and as a result of the perusal is bound to give pleasure.

LALIT NAN KAVYO (ललितनां काव्यो), published by Ramaniyaram Govardhanram Tripathi, Bombay.

Cloth cover, with a photograph of the poet: pp. 136. Price Re. 1.

'Lalit' is the *nom de plume* of Janmashanker Mahashanker Buch, whose poems and songs have so long delighted the people of Gujarat and Kathiawar. While reviewing the first edition of the collection of his poems, which have reached in this book a second edition, we have already remarked on their sweetness and innocence, and above all, the delight that they radiate, particularly when sung by the author himself to the accompaniment of the little pair of brass cymbals he carries with him. His poems, even when they do not relate to *Bhakti* or a cognate subject, always reminds one of the *Bhajans* sung by the wandering minstrels of Kathiawar, on account of their language, and a certain inimitable trick of provincialism special to natives of Kathiawar. 'Lalit's' performances are sure to live long.

GULAMGIRI NO GAJAB (गुलामगिरीनो गजब) by Mrs. Vimala Setalvad, published by Ramaniyaram Govardhanram Tripathi, Bombay. Cloth bound, illustrated, pp. 245. Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1918).

This book and the preceding one owe their publication to the enterprise of young Mr. Tripathi, who has shewn an admirable public spirit in thus encouraging their authors in these war times. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin needs no introduction, and Mrs. Vimala's translation certainly does not detract from the deserved merits of the original. Accompanied as it is with the life story of Mrs. Stowe and good illustrations, we are sure that the book would find many readers. The translation is not a slavish adherence to the text or a word for word one, but a judicious reproduction of the ideas of the original writer in simple Gujarati, and in that respect a model one. We think there is no need to have a literal translation of the book after this, for it seems that the present translator considers that to be a desideratum.

SRASHTI NI UTPATTI (सृष्टिनी उत्पत्ति) by Kallianrai N. Joshi, B.A., published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Bhandol Committee. Thick card board, slightly illustrated, pp. 222. Price As. 14. (1918).

Prof. Robert MacMillan's "The Origin of the World" published by the Rationalist Press Association is the basis of Mr. Joshi's book. The subject is interesting, and the translator being himself a science man has been able to conserve the interest, which alone can attract a lay mind to instruct itself in such matters. We think the book well written.

K. M. J.

MARATHI BOOKS.

I. THOR VIBHUTINCHYA SURAS KATHA (थोर विभूतिंच्या सुरस कथा) or *Pretty Tales of Heroes*, by Mr. N. A. Oke, M.A., Teacher, Training College for Men, Poona. 2nd Ed. Pp. 100. Price As. 10.

This is a free rendering into Marathi of Miss Charlotte Young's well-known English book of "Golden Deeds," which has run into several editions. The Marathi translation too is an interesting reading and is an altogether creditable production. The author can easily find a sufficient number of striking

and instructive stories of Indian heroism to fill a volume. I hope he will write such a volume. We should not be guilty of any omission which may create in the minds of young Indian readers a false impression that there is nothing in Indian history comparable with the noble deeds recorded in Miss Young's charming book.

2. HINDUSTHANI BHASHA SHIKSHAK (हिन्दुस्थानी भाषाशिक्षक) or "the Hindusthani Teacher by Mr. S. W. Paranjpe, Pp. 64. Price As. 6.

The growing desire of Maratha youths to learn other Indian vernaculars besides their own is a healthy sign of the growth of India's unity. We have had till now books affording facilities for learning Bengali, Kanarese and Gujarathi. A book

professing to teach Hindi or Hindusthani through the medium of Marathi was a long-felt want. It is supplied to some extent by the present book. It is however a very meagre production. Such books should be so planned as to embody all the requirements of beginners so as to enable them to dispense with the aid of teachers. Little in this direction has been attempted in this book. Besides it is full of mistakes grammatical and otherwise. For instance, even a beginner of Hindi knows that in the conjugation of Hindi verbs in the plural is written *हैं*—a rule so simple and well-known that it is always accompanied by an *anuswar* and is a wonder how a person professing to be a teacher of Hindi could ignore it.

V. G. APTE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Art and Literature in Bengal.

In the course of a very ably written article appearing in *Arya* for October dealing with the renaissance in India, the literary and artistic progress of Bengal has thus been estimated :

Bengal has already a considerable literature of importance, with a distinct spirit and form, well-based and always developing ; she has now a great body of art original, inspired, full of delicate beauty and vision. Especially the art of the Bengal painters is very significant, more so even than the prose of Bankim or the poetry of Tagore. Bengali poetry has had to feel its way and does not seem yet quite definitely to have found it, but Bengal art has found its way at once at the first step, by a sort of immediate intuition.

Partly, this is because the new literature began in the period of foreign influence and of an indecisive groping, while art in India was quite silent,—except for the preposterous Ravi Varma interlude which was doomed to sterility by its absurdly barren incompetence,—began in a moment of self-recovery and could profit by a clearer possibility of light. But besides, plastic art is in itself by its very limitation, by the narrower and intense range of its forms and motives, often more decisively indicative than the more fluid and variable turns of literary thought and expression. Now the whole power of the Bengal artists springs from their deliberate choice of the spirit and hidden meaning in this rather than their form and surface meaning as the object to be expressed. It is intuitive and its forms are the very rhythm of its intuition, they have little to do with the metric formalities devised by the observing intellect ; it leans over the finite to discover its suggestions of the infinite and inexpressible ; it turns to outward life and nature to found upon it lines and colours, rhythms and embodiments which will be significant of the other life and

other nature than the physical which all that is merely outward conceals. This is the eternal motive of Indian art, but applied in a new way less largely ideated, mythological and symbolical, with a more delicately suggestive attempt at a near, subtle, direct embodiment. This art is a true new creation.

Poetry and literature in Bengal have gone through two distinct stages and seem to be preparing for a third of which one cannot quite foresee the character. It began with a European and mostly an English influence, a taking in of fresh poetical and prose forms, literary ideas, artistic canons. It was a period of copious and buoyant creation which produced number of poets and poetesses, one or two of great genius, others of a fine poetic capacity, much work of beauty and distinction. Its work was not at all crudely imitative ; the foreign influences are everywhere visible, but they are assimilated, not merely obeyed or aped. The quality of the Bengali temperament and its native aesthetic turn took hold of them and poured them into a mould of speech suitable to its own spirit. But still the substance was, not quite native to the soul and therefore one feels a certain void in it. The form and expression have the peculiar grace and the delicate plastic beauty which Bengali poetical expression achieved from its beginning, but the thing expressed does not in the end amount to very much.

That period is long over, it has lived its time and its work has taken its place in the past of the literature. Two of its creators, one, the sovereign initiator of its prose expression, supreme by combination of original mentality with a flawless artistic gift, the other born into its last glow of productive brilliance, but outliving it to develop another strain and a profounder voice of poetry, released the real soul of Bengal into expression. The work of Bankim Chandra is now of the past, because it has entered already into the new mind of Bengal which it did more than any other literary influence to form ; the work of Rabindranath still largely holds the present, nt,

but it has opened ways for the future which promise to go beyond it. Both show an increasing return to the Indian spirit in fresh forms; both are voices of the dawn, seek more than they find, suggest and are calling for more than they actually evoke. At present we see a fresh preparation, on one side evolving and promising to broaden out from the influence of Tagore, on the other in revolt against it and insisting on a more distinctively national type of inspiration and creation; but what will come out of it, is not yet clear. On the whole it appears that the movement is turning in the same direction as that of the new art, though with the more flexible utterance and varied motive natural to the spoken thought and expressive word.

Women—What They Can Do.

It is quite possible women understand more about themselves than men, and as such, the following observations on the true sphere of work of women, made by an Englishwoman in the pages of *East and West* for November are well worth our attention.

We must no longer talk of women as being weak and helpless, they are not so unless they wilfully take that position. They are on the contrary a great power for good or evil. Though they may elect to remain in the background they are often the motive power of great undertakings, they prompt and suggest and encourage. There are many who prefer thus to work out of the glare of the limelight, but they are none the less workers for man's betterment. Their unseen influence is enormous and to them is largely due the tone and colouring of the thought of the world in which they live, if they have the will and the wisdom to unite in the necessary effort, and know how to demonstrate that which they advocate, and are also tactful and reasonable, they will inspire others to help and develop themselves, and thus become starting points and fresh centres for a more rapid advance in man's evolution towards perfection.

Intellectual cleverness, much book learning do not appeal to a large number of women. It strikes chill on the heart sometimes, does it not my sisters? We want to feel the warm pulses of life, to pour love into the cold hard world, to apprehend the unspoken word—the whispers of the soul, to perceive the hidden troubles of the heart and administer the comfort of comprehending compassion; and it is just by these spiritual attributes that women wield their greatest power. It is because they are sensitive to atmosphere and vibration, because love backed by innate wisdom looks beneath the surface of men's lives and can touch wounds with gentle fingers, that women who have learnt to control all their own particular weak points, may become most valuable assistants to men in the organisation and management of big reforms.

Tact and intuition which are supposed to be woman's prerogative and which are the outcome of a loving and sympathetic heart, whether in man or woman, will roll away more opposition and difficulty and be a greater force for good and finer progress than any amount of intellectual cleverness.

Things Are Not What They Seem.

The analogy of dust is brought forward whenever anything valueless mean or contemptible is mentioned. Insignificant as dust—that is a common saying. But this statement has no foundation on actual facts as the following extracts from an interesting article contributed to the *Educational Review* for September by F. D. Murad, will amply prove.

Cleanliness is a relative term; you can never have anything absolutely clean. There are always particles of matter—most of them barely visible to the naked eye while others are of microscopic and ultra-microscopic dimensions—floating about in the air.

Ordinarily when we talk of very small dust particles, we do not judge how immensely big they really are as compared with the ultimate particles of matter called molecules. Imagine a tiny drop of water magnified to the size of our globe (the earth is as big as a sphere of 4,000 miles radius) and its smallest particles or molecules also magnified proportionately; then these molecules in their immensely magnified condition will not be bigger than tennis balls. The smallest particles of dust visible to the eye must contain billions upon billions of such molecules and thus it is clear that there can be hosts of dust particles always present in the air which are permanently invisible to the eye on account of their extreme smallness.

We always talk of germs—the invisible microbes—as being very small, and indeed most of the germs are too small to be seen with the naked eye. But now that we have discussed the size of a molecule it is easy to realise that the ordinary microbe—invisible though to the naked eye—is still a gigantic object as compared with the individual numberless molecules of which it is composed. These germs are always present in the air of our rooms; floating about freely in our nostrils and mouth. The only sure means of escaping from them is to let them settle down on the floor. Now dusting a room with a broom or a napkin simply stirs up these invisible dust particles and spores ready to enter our breathing apparatus; hence paradoxical as it may appear, dusting a room with an ordinary broom is practically no good—a vacuum cleaner which simply sucks in the dust particles is much better.

Vast is the kingdom of dust! Unlike terrestrial kingdoms, it knows no limits. No oceans mark its boundaries, no mountains hem it in. In number, form and variety, they transcend all conceptions of the human mind. In shape, they comprise all possible forms. In position, they include every substance that is material. In condition, they are solid, liquid, vaporous and gaseous. They are with us in the quiet seclusion of our homes, in the busy streets and marts of commerce, on the sunlit crests of the snowy Himalayas—in short they are to be found everywhere. They come to us enshrined in the beautiful snow crystals and every drop of rain carries with it from the upper strata of the ocean of air some of these tiny subjects of the mighty kingdom of dust. The snow fields far above the snow line are always found covered with a coating of dust particles and it is the presence

of these tiny dust particles in the upper reaches of the atmosphere that gives us our beautiful azure skies. But for our atmosphere and the vast kingdom of dust, we will have nothing but the deep darkness of space above our heads—there will be no sky and no celestial blue colour. The sky and its blue colour are simply optical phenomena depending upon the distribution of infinitesimally small particles scattered in the upper reaches of the atmosphere.

Every conceivable substance enters into the composition of dust. Have you ever pondered over the loss of nails and pins that are dropped on the ground and are never found again. Surely the earth does not swallow them. They are there, until their particles are scattered away by the slow but steady processes of abrasion and disintegration. Thus in street dust may be found bits of iron and steel from the tyres of wagons, horse-shoes and the nails of our own footwear; links of leather from harness, fragments of wood, cotton, silk, gold, silver, copper, clothing, wool, hair, animal excreta and filth of every kind, papers, clay, sand, bacteria—in fact everything under the sun.

The amount of dust that falls is enormous. It has been calculated that the amount of dust that fell on the house tops of London in February 1891 amounted to more than a hundred and fifty maunds per square mile. This constant imperceptible shower of fine dust particles gains enormous proportions in the vicinity of active volcanoes. The volcanic dust that flew up into the upper regions of the atmosphere after the famous Kara Kato eruption, was so abundant that for several months afterwards the twilight (depending as it does, upon the presence of fine dust particles in the atmosphere) was exceptionally impressive and rich.

Millions are spent annually as a ransom to this mighty kingdom of dust, in order that its unwelcome ambassadors may take wings and fly away from our carpets, our books, our windows and our streets. Unfortunately they do not fly far, but settle down comfortably after a stirring sojourn with the duster, broom or other cleansing agent. The fight against dust is a continuous one, and must be fought over and over again.

The Ideal of Female Education in India.

The above theme has become a matter of constant discussion now-a-days, and well it might be. What is unfortunate is that the discussion is carried on usually by men-folk who, by the very fact of their being men, are not in a position to pass the final judgment on such a vital problem on which the advancement of our women depends. The education that is necessary for Indian women, the form and the method and everything connected with it, must be decided by women and women alone. Self-determination is the greatest message of modern times and Indian men who have so long played the overlord in all matters relating to women must no longer arrogate rights which do not belong to them. The only part that they can play in the matter of the education of women is very correctly set forth by Mr. Chamupati Rai in the course of an article contributed by him to the *Educational Review* for October. Says he:

Men of to-day have no right to dictate functions to the women of to-morrow. Any the greatest superiority in judgment, that our brethren may claim over their unlettered sisters, will not entitle them to make a correct estimate of the capacities of a sex whose very existence is cloaked in mystery. From the advantage we enjoy of an earlier start, our sisters will, for some time to come, be in a state of tutelage to us. After that, they must judge for themselves. Woman-managed institutions are bound to be a feature of the future age—institutions woman-dreamt and woman-worked. To us, the education of women is a temporary trust. Our present ideal should be to train our sisters to a comprehension of their own problem. Such curricula should be introduced as will extend their mental vision, while a tone may be given to their institutions which shall help them in realising the immense power which woman wields.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

The Problem of India.

Under the above heading *The Times* (London) discusses in its columns the joint report of the Secretary of State and Viceroy of India regarding constitutional changes in the administration of India. After paying a fine compliment to the authors of the Report by saying that "no

more able State Paper has been submitted in our time to the people of this country in regard to Indian affairs," *The Times* gloats over the fact that

It does not disguise either the magnitude or the difficulties of the task—the profound ignorance of the enormous majority of the population whose horizon is confined to the village fields whence they draw their penurious livelihood; the deep lines of

racial, religious, and social cleavage; the traditions of inherited hostility, still dangerously explosive, between the different communities, especially between Hindus and Moslems; the political inertia of all but the numerically very small classes that have been drawn within the orbit of Western education, and, on the other hand, the potency, for good and, unfortunately, also for evil, of the ferment which Western education has introduced.

All these vital factors in the problem are set forth on the whole very fairly. Nor is any attempt made to cast the blame for the more disquieting features of the situation upon the system of government or upon its agents, whose efficiency and integrity and high standards of duty receive full and well-deserved recognition. The whole structure and machinery of government and administration are reviewed with great insight and full appreciation of the admirable results achieved. It is not in any definite breakdown of the system, nor in the vain hope of stirring the masses out of their quiescent conservatism, nor in the mere expediency of disarming by reasonable concessions the growing unrest among an educated minority, that the authors of the report seek the justification of the far-reaching constitutional changes embodied in their proposals. 'Our reason,' they say frankly, 'is the faith that is in us.' They claim to have been able to show how 'step by step British policy in India has been steadily directed to a point at which the question of a self-governing India was bound to arise; how impulses, at first faint, have been encouraged by education and opportunity; how the growth quickened nine years ago—when the Morley-Minto reforms were enacted—and was immeasurably accelerated by the war.' It is in this spirit, we believe, that the British people will be most inclined to study the report and to assent to its general conclusions.

The jingo paper then sums up with this oft-repeated cant:

The report clearly shows and states emphatically that, while self-government must henceforth be the goal of British policy in India, it can only be reached by gradual and experimental stages. The transition from a form of government which, however paternal, has been essentially autocratic to a popular form based on representative institutions, must always be difficult and, unless cautiously initiated, dangerous, especially in such a country as India, to whose history and traditions and social conditions democracy is in most respects thoroughly foreign.

The German Social Democratic Party.

In view of the termination of the war and the German Revolution in which the Social-Democrats are taking the leading part the following extracts from an article contributed to the *Budapest Dispatch* by Dr. Sigmund Rubinstein will be found interesting.

This vast revolution which has set in in the form of a monstrous war is preparing a new world. It is liberating unprogressive England with the violence of a thunder-burst. England is getting an even more fundamental experience of the workings of revolution on the present scale than is Russia, because she was the most backward in her social

system. Concentration of shattered industry, the overthrow of established methods of working through the suspension of rules applying to corporations, organization of capital for industrial use with government assistance for the purpose of acquiring foreign markets, the beginning of the coordination of the Empire's governmental and customs policies, vast preparations for the control of all industries essential to the continuance of the war and their necessary raw materials, are separate chapters in this remoulding of England.

In war the British Empire is undergoing a process of rejuvenation, the centrifugal power of which is impressive. The social upbuilding of a new England will be the most significantly revolutionary fact among present happenings. Indeed, the new era does not open upon a prospect of peaceful times, but rather upon bitterer struggles for the ruling of the world. The adoption of the German system in an English world-dominion protected by tariff walls would give British capital employed in foreign enterprises a far vaster field of operations than she has in little Germany. The capital of the British Empire, strengthened by the gigantic profits of its great domestic market, would be hurled with unheard of weight on the foreign markets. The world's danger of war would increase. If England retains the conquests which she had made in this war, she will be, especially through the weakening of Russia, lord in Asia and Africa. The world will be so thoroughly dependent upon her that the other nations (including Japan, which is dominated by American influence), will be virtually for hire by Englishmen.

With her strong and educative force of universal compulsory military service and school attendance, with her highly developed social legislation, Germany can become the nursery of a labor movement which should not merely achieve a far solder political position of power than the Socialism of England or France, but should also produce in its intellectual, cultural, and economic creations a 'Labor-Kultur' which would stand without parallel in the world. Under the influence of the political struggle of the laboring class, on the other hand, the German government has been socialized. It was able to accomplish this in advance of the countries to the west, because an executive power has developed in the German people which proved their vigorous independence of the privileged classes in the bureaucracy. The indirect socialization of the state administration and its saturation with the social spirit which characterizes the German government, was denied the western countries, because all-powerful individualism kept the state impotent. The English aristocracy and the French plutocracy based their power on a broad electoral franchise, because in these countries labor, permeated with the individualistic spirit of their middle class, did not understand how to use the government as an instrument of socialization. French Socialism was never anything but petty bourgeoisie. The English workman strove after privileges. England and France are lands of 'mechanical' democracy; Germany has the progressive 'organic' democracy. State Socialism will be the development of the future. Organization of political economy in place of the anarchic system of individualistic economy of earlier capitalism, is in progress. Whether the organization has a plutocratic or a social character will depend upon the nature of the state. The state, the socialization of which has progressed farther, will have the sounder national life. Hence, not the so-called democratic

governments of the western countries, but Germany, which has been reviled as reactionary, is the model for the future. When the German Reichstag secures control over the bureaucracy, and self-government is developed, Germany will be on the way toward the complete realization of the union between state and people. German democracy will grow, not by retouching the English or French individualistic model but by developing the characteristic features springing from an historically German foundation.

John Drinkwater gives us a pleasing and laudatory account of

The Poetry of Francis Ledwidge

in the *Edinburgh Review*, who came from Irish peasant stock and for some time lived so that his publisher could advertise him as 'The Scavenger Poet,' joined the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in 1914, and was killed in Flanders in 1917, at the age of twenty-five, leaving two books of poems and the material for a third, which has since been published. [*Songs of the Fields* (1916); *Songs of Peace* (1917); *Last Songs* (1918).]

Every poet, if he is to do work of any consequence at all, has to find himself through tradition; that is an unescapable condition of his function. Native wood-notes wild are no more of the most natural lyricist's untutored sounding than is the bird's ecstasy unaware of the generations, and almost invariably the personal ease of the young poet's song depends upon the degree of intimacy with the poetic resources of his tongue that he has acquired unconsciously by natural inheritance and early association.

In *Songs of the Fields* we have the first work of any personal character. And from this through the three volumes nothing is more notable in the poet's external habit than his certain progress from a manner heavy with self-conscious discovery of English poetry, through which his genius struggles often but brokenly to its own gesture, to clear deliverance from this tardy constraint, when he writes of his own simple and lovely world with no touch of untutored circumstance, but in the sweetest and most delicate tradition of English song.

In *The Wife of Llew*, he wrote what seems to me, if the arrangement of the book is significant, to be his first delicate masterpiece:

They took the violet and the meadow-sweet
To form her pretty face, and for her feet
They built a mound of daisies on a wing,
And for her voice they made a linnets' sling
In the wide poppy blowing for her mouth.
And over all they chanted twenty hours.
And Llew came singing from the azure south
And bore away his wife of birds and flowers.

It is fragile, a thing partly of the fancy; it has not the vivid and intimate contact with reality that was to make some of the later songs of such fine bearing in their little compass, but it is a lovely device, surely made. There are three other poems in this first volume that may be chosen for their rounded achievement as distinct from occasional excellence:

The Coming Poet (though the first stanza is hardly good enough for the second), *Evening in February*, and *Growing Old*, with its perfect conclusion:

Across a bed of bells the river flows,
And roses dawn, but not for us; we want
The new thing ever as the old thing grows
Spectral and weary on the hills we haunt.
And that is why we feast, and that is why
We're growing odd and old, my heart and I.

Ledwidge's first encompassing of profound lyric mastery was effected in the poem:

He shall not hear the bitter cry
In the wild sky, where he is lain,
Nor voices of the sweeter birds
Above the wailing of the rain.

Nor shall he know when loud March blows
Thro' slanting snows her fanfare shrill,
Blowing to flame the golden cup
Of many an upset daffodil.

But when the Dark Cow leaves the moor
And pastures poor with greedy weeds,
Perhaps he'll hear her low at morn
Lifting her horn in pleasant meads.

It is a poem of that limpid austerity that comes only from minds slowly but irresistibly disciplined to truth. Its inspiration is a quality that, while it is immeasurably precious to those who can perceive it, escapes the sense of many altogether. It has mystery, but it is the mystery of clear modulation and simple confidence, not that other mystery of half-whispered reticence and the veiled image: is it at once lucid and subtle, and it has the repose of vision, not of fortunate dream; it is of the noon, not of the dusk.

Of the poems in *Songs of the Fields* that "are written with assured lyric maturity and highness" the following is a notable example.

Had I a Golden Pound.
Had I a Golden pound to spend,
My love should mend and sew no more,
And I would buy her a little quern
Easy to turn on the kitchen floor.

And for her windows curtains white,
With birds in flight and flowers in bloom,
To face with pride the road to town,
And mellow down her sunlit room.

And with the silver change we'd prove
The truth of Love to life's own end,
With hearts the years could but embolden,
Had I a golden pound to spend.

Ledwidge died heroically: that I can reflect with deep reverence; that he died for me I can remember only in forlorn desolation and silence. But his poetry exalts me, while not so his death. And it is well for us to keep our minds fixed on this plain fact, that when he died a poet was not transfigured, but killed, and his poetry not magnified, but blasted in its first flowering. To those who know what poetry is, the untimely death of a man like Ledwidge is nothing but calamity. There are indeed poets who, dying young with what seems measureless promise unrea-

lized, we may yet feel to have so far outrun the processes of nature in early achievement that the vital spirit could no longer support the strain. Keats was such a one. But nothing of this can be said of Ledwidge. His development was slow, and, while it was certain enough, it moved with no remarkable concentration nor to fierce purposes. He was cultivating his glowing lyrical gift with tranquil deliberation to exquisite ends, and nothing is clearer than that when he died he had but begun to do his work. His future was plainly marked. Already he had come through the distractions of imitation to a style at once delightedly personal and in the deepest and richest traditions of English lyric poetry.

His own September of the year came in his life before spring had well gone :

Still are the meadowlands, and still
Ripens the upland corn,
And over the brown gradual hill
The moon has dipped a horn.

The voices of the dear unknown,
With silent hearts now call,
My rose of youth is overblown
And trembles to the fall.

My song forsakes me like the birds
That leave the rain and gray,
I hear the music of the words
My lute can never say.

The Ideals of a Newspaper.

The *Outlook* informs us that the following interesting lines are inscribed on the

walls of the new building of the *Detroit News*. The President of the News said : "These inscriptions are not hidden in the foundation to be forgotten, but placed where they are ever before the eye of all, a reminder of service rendered and those ideals we are all pledged to attain."

Mirror of the public mind : interpreter of the public intent ; troubler of the public conscience.

Reflector of every human interest ; friend of every righteous cause ; encourager of every generous act.

Bearer of intelligence ; dispeller of ignorance and prejudice ; a light shining into all dark places.

Promoter of civic welfare and civic pride ; bond of civic unity ; protector of civic rights.

Scourge of evil doers ; exposé of secret iniquities ; unrelenting foe of privilege and corruption.

Voice of the lowly and oppressed ; advocate of the friendless ; righter of public and private wrongs.

Chronicler of acts ; sifter of rumours and opinions ; minister of the truth that makes men free.

Reporter of the new ; remembrancer of the old and tried ; herald of what is to come.

Defender of civic liberty ; strengthener of loyalty ; pillar and stay of democratic government.

Upbuilder of home ; nourisher of the community spirit ; art, letters and science of the common people.

FINIS

The girl moon weeps
through smoke-black mesh.
The stars turn away
To flash their laughter
on another planet.
The cold fingers of the hill-mist
Bruise the bosom of the lake.
The song chokes
In the slender throat of the brook.
The longing leaves faint and fall
Crushed by the sneer in the voice
of the wind.

* * * * *
You no longer need my love.

GERVE BARONTI.

BIRD-SONG

A bird is singing somewhere
His morning carol
Straight into my heart
Magical strains that guide
the darkling thoughts
Beyond the years, beyond all dynasties,
Beyond red battle and the storm
of death
That sweeps the world.
Once again
Men too shall sing
The blessedness of life,
And in their songs deep undertones
of sorrow
Shall tremble into chastening memory.
E. E. SPEIGHT,

THE SURVIVAL OF HINDU CIVILISATION*

IN "The Survival of Hindu Civilization" Mr. Pramathanath Bose demolishes, with convincing wealth of reasoning, the favourite official theory that India is prosperous, and exposes the hollowness of the so-called indications of increased prosperity, e.g., the absorption of gold, expansion of trade, rise in wages and prices of food grains, elevation of the standard of living and industrial development, urging, by way of contrast, the increasing frequency of famines, the increasing indebtedness of the people and the increasing virulence of diseases as sure signs of decaying prosperity. The remedy he proposes are industrial organisation (positive), abstention from foreign luxuries and the saving of capital (negative) to prevent the foreign drain, the stupendous magnitude of which has been proved to demonstration in these pages. In "The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and Indian Nationhood" he shows that "communal representation would be the surest way of killing what national life there still is in India, and of making true representative Government an impossibility." Since Mahomedans must have communal representation, the best compromise, in the interests of national unity, would be to fit the number of Mahomedan and Hindu representatives, but they should be elected by Hindu and Mahomedan voters jointly. In this way Hindus will be compelled to seek Mahomedan votes, and *vice versa*. The paucity of voters in one community as compared with another, which is the only possible objection to this scheme, may apply to small communities like the Sikhs for instance, but does not hold good of the Mahomedans. In "The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme," Mr. Bose holds that "more food and more nourishing food is the most urgent need of ninety per cent. of our people. The

Montagu-Chelmsford scheme not only does not hold out any prospect of their being able to attain it, but, on the contrary, as it is likely to lead to largely increased taxation, it is calculated to add to the heavy load of their misery." Mr. Bose takes too pessimistic a view of the situation, but we must admit that the arguments by which he attempts to prove his point contain ample food for reflection. We do not also agree with all the deductions he draws from the rise in the standard of living, but we admit that wages have not increased in proportion to the rise in prices, and that while certain luxuries have become all but indispensable, some necessities, e.g., pure milk, have become both dearer and rarer.

The introduction to the 'Survival of Hindu Civilisation' which forms nearly half the book, is taken up with the question as to whether it is possible or desirable for us to try to assimilate western civilisation, and in this connection Mr. Bose falls foul of 'neo-Indians' as he calls them, of whom Sir S. P. Sinha is taken as the type, and he questions their knowledge of history in language which does not err on the side of elegance (p. xxv). In Mr. Bose's opinion, "the tendency towards rise in the standard of living after the western fashion" must be checked and "this tendency cannot be checked until our people cease to hold the view that western civilisation is superior to theirs." It is easy to demolish an adversary by putting into his mouth arguments which he never advanced. No 'neo-Indian' worth the salt would say that western civilisation is 'superior' to Indian civilisation in all respects. It is superior in some respects, and inferior in others, and it is only in those respects in which it is superior that he would like to see it assimilated by Indian nationalists or (since Mr. Bose disclaims the title, p. xvi) free-lances. While admitting that "it is possible to adopt western methods to some extent in the repairs which the eastern structure needs periodically," Mr. Bose is convinced that 'the incorporation cannot be compassed

* I. The Survival of Hindu Civilisation. II. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and Indian Nationhood. III. The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. By Pramathanath Bose, B. Sc. (Lond). Calcutta. 1918. Newman & Co.,

without demolishing the latter and building anew.' "If Hinduism is to survive at all, it must survive as a distinct entity.... Attempts at so-called synthesis would only convert it into a non-descript mongrel variety of western civilisation" &c. Elsewhere, in the introduction, he says that we cannot take the supposed roses of western civilisation without its thorns, and adopt the western methods of commercial exploitation and material aggrandisement but avoid the concomitant evils of industrialism and militarism.

But we do not want to exploit other nations commercially—we want to provide ourselves with the manufactured goods we require, our incapacity for which has formed the burden of so many pathetic patriotic songs. India is a vast country, and it will take generations to supply all its needs. Even Mr. Bose, in spite of his sentimental regard for cottage industries admits that they have had their day, and perceives the necessity of 'industrial regeneration on improved methods.' 'No civilisation,' he says truly, 'can long be supported by agriculture alone.' The evils of the factory system are now thoroughly recognised, and are being increasingly provided against. As for Hinduism surviving as a distinct entity, if it means the total exclusion of foreign ideas and institutions, the absurdity of the proposition at this time of day will be manifest to the meanest intelligence. For good or evil, the possibility of such a state of things has disappeared for ever, and the question now is, not whether Hinduism can survive by ignoring the West, which it cannot, but how far it is possible to preserve its genius and individuality by adjusting itself to the new moral, intellectual, social and political forces and conditions brought into being by its impact with the west.

Mr. Bose in his second pamphlet says:—

'Indian nationhood was specially weak in one point. The village self-government was not linked up with the central government. This was a very serious defect, to which may be attributed many of the ills that have befallen India.'

This is tantamount to saying, as Sir John Seeley has said, that Indians had no patriotism but village-patriotism, and one reason of the self-sufficing character of the Indian village organisation, as Sir Theodore Morison has shown in his *Economic Transition of India*, lay in the poor and unsafe communications of

mediaeval India. Every European country has passed through the same phase, and in India it is just beginning to pass away and with it the sense of nationhood is growing.

The example of Japan, in the opinion of Mr. Bose, does not really prove that India can assimilate European civilisation, for Japanese civilisation is young and plastic. This is no explanation and is merely begging the question by taking an entirely superficial view of the mighty civilisation of Japan. Our cultural life need not be turned upside down to accommodate the West. We must imitate in so far as this may be necessary for our self-preservation, and we may accept western science *in toto* without our deeper life-springs being in any way affected thereby. The fear of wholesale Europeanisation is a bogey called up only by those who do not intend to budge an inch from their orthodoxy, though even they find it necessary in actual practice to make a thousand and one compromises with their conscience in order to make existence possible in these days. No one has arraigned European nationalism with greater severity than Sir Rabindranath Tagore, but he admits that "the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of truth. Therefore if it be true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm it is nevertheless scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we become able to assimilate in our life what is permanent in Western civilisation we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds." Again, "The East has instinctively felt, even through her aversion, that she has a great deal to learn from Europe, not merely about the materials of power, but about its inner source, which is of mind and of the moral nature of man." (*Nationalism*). Once more, in a very recent article quoted in the current *Prabashi* he says:—

"It won't do for us to cut off all intercourse with the rest of the world or be boycotted by them and sleep away our days after swallowing an extra handful of rice. We can be men only by adopting a policy of mutual give and take with the whole world. The race which will refuse to do so cannot survive in these days. Our food and wealth, religion and activities, knowledge and thought, must all be made fit to bring us in touch with the entire globe. That which will merely pass current in our own family or our own

village simply will not do. The whole world is knocking at our door, crying, "I have come!" If we do not respond to the call, we shall be accursed, none can save us. There is no passage left by which to go back within the ancient parochial bounds."

Mr. Bose truly says that 'spiritual progress signifies but little in a society except in so far as it leads to ethical development.' And so long as the people are sunk in poverty, there will, as Prof. Seligman says in his *Economic Interpretation of Human History*, be hardly any opportunity for the unfolding of the higher ethical life. Wealth is necessary to set the spirit free from the carking cares of daily life, from the domination of matter. When Mr. Bose boasts of the *Sattrik* equipoise of our civilisation, it may be useful to remind him, in the words of Sir Rabin-dranath, that "the educated community of India has become insensible to her social needs. They are taking the very immobility of our social structures as the sign of their perfection—and because the healthy feeling of pain is dead in the limbs of our social organism they delude themselves into thinking that it needs no ministration." (*Nationalism*).

Mr. Bose deplores the decay of amity and concord between the different castes of Hindus and also between Hindus and Mahomedans. Formerly, 'the blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindus.' It is doubtful, however, if the following reflections of Colonel Malleson (*Decisive Battles of India*) had ever lost their validity:

"...It is strange, just as the bigoted Aurangzib has left a far deeper and more lasting recollection in the minds of the Muhammadans of Northern India than his infinitely greater ancestor—the wise and liberal Akbar—so in Southern India the memory of the cruel, narrow-minded, and bigoted Tipu Sahib is revered much more than the memory of his able and liberal-minded father. The reason is not far to seek. Akbar and Haidar were very lax in their religious practices. The descendant of the one and the son of the other were narrow-minded bigots. Bigotry rules the Muhammadan world. And though the bigots lost the empires which their farsighted and liberal ancestors had won, the Muhammadan world has pardoned the temporal loss, and, whilst it pays no heed to the qualities of the founders, still venerates the piety of those who undid the founders' work!"

The social conservatism of the Moslems has however been rightly ascribed by one so well able to speak of them as Sir Theodore Morison (see extract at page 287 of *A Vision of India* by Sidney Low) not so much to religious fanaticism as to

"a quasi-patriotic feeling of which they themselves were only dimly aware, and to which they would have found it difficult to give articulate expression." In their conflicts with other religions, Christianity for instance, the cross and the crescent have become symbols not merely of two different religions, but of two distinct and rival social systems.

"The followers of both religions, being habituated to look upon each other as natural enemies, had emphasised those social customs in which they differed from each other, and had come to regard with peculiar fondness those habits and manners which might be regarded as distinctly Islamic or Christian. Practices which were neither good nor bad in themselves became lovable and praiseworthy when they were recognised characteristics of the followers of the true faith, and bigots would be inclined to view with an indulgent eye even the bad practices of their own people, if they were in sharp contrast to the manners of the infidels."

If we may believe a recent able exponent of Sikh religion, Dr. Narang (*Transformation of Sikhism*), Guru Govind Singh found certain external bonds of union, e.g., wearing a turban and keeping long hair, great aids to the building up of the Sikh nation, and these mechanical devices, instead of losing their influence, "have remained intact throughout the last two centuries, and are at the present day acquiring still greater importance and strength." It will be found on examination that there are many Hindu practices, e.g., the abstinence from cow killing and the prevalence of buffalo-sacrifice, which, apart from the argument against all kinds of animal sacrifice on moral grounds, can be justified by Hindus only on the ground that it constitutes a distinctive element of unity among Hindus in the face of a rival creed. In fact, the social exclusiveness of the Hindu does not differ materially from the bigotry of the Moslem, and his preference for the aggressive Hinduism of Vivekananda, as opposed to the rationalistic and catholic Vedantic teachings of Rammohan has the same etiology as the Mahomedan's preference of Aurangzib to Akbar. The revival of the "Sanatan Dharma" has accentuated caste-consciousness, and intensified the ceremonial differences between Hindus and Moslems. Hindus refuse to drink water touched by a follower of the Prophet, and the latter refuses to eat meat as the guest of a Hindu friend unless it is *Halal*, i.e., unless the animal has been killed in the orthodox

Moslem fashion. If the educated members of both the communities allowed themselves to be guided more by reason and less by blind fanaticism, Mr. Bose's complaint would vanish in no time. 'The cultural assimilation of the Mahomedans with the Hindus,' of which Mr. Bose speaks, was due to no small extent to the cultural assimilation of the Hindus with the Mahomedans. In language, dress, and manners, it would be difficult to distinguish a mediæval Hindu gentleman from a finished Moslem courtier.

According to Mr. Bose, humanitarianism is the choicest product of Indian wisdom, and so long as the mind is not subjugated, political dependence in the case of highly civilised nations cannot do much harm. Universal brotherhood was preached by the shastras, but our Sanyasis who alone were fit to practise it retired to the hills and the laity kept the Sudra at arm's length. I could match the noble humanitarian precepts of the shastras by numerous extracts from Comte and Mazzini, and I think it may be truthfully said that in spite of the materialistic greed and nationalistic selfishness of the West, it thinks oftener in terms of universal humanity than was ever the case in ancient India, with its narrow outlook on the terrestrial life, and with *Mlecchas* abounding on all sides. As for the effect of political dependence on the Indian mind, I shall quote from Mr. Bose's Essays and Lectures, 2nd Edition, where, speaking of Hindu civilisation during Moslem rule, he observes as follows :

"The progress of Hindu civilisation was arrested with the establishment of the Mahomedan Empire. Every Hindu work that bears the stamp of originality was written by the close of the twelfth century."

"That patriotism is a virtue previously unknown in India is a statement which runs counter to well-known facts of history," says Mr. Bose, and he proceeds to remark that facts like these, which his strong Western bias leads the 'neo-Indian' to forget, should be familiar to a student who has not gone beyond the stage of matriculation. In support of his statement Mr. Bose cites the opposition offered by Marathas and Rajputs to Mahomedans. Let us see how far Mr. Bose's statement is justified by history. I find the following on this very subject in Mr. Bose's article quoted above: "Had the

people been permeated with a sense of nationality and patriotism such as pervades the people of the West, it would have been impossible for the Mahomedans to establish their Empire of India." But now that the Moslem has settled for good as his next door neighbour, the neo-Hindu, unlike his orthodox brother, would extend to him the right hand of fellowship, recognising that the future of India belongs jointly to both, and not to the Hindu alone. It may be conceded that the Hindu was not devoid of the consciousness of religious unity, but it was much less strong in the case of the Hindu than in the case of the Mahomedan, as the following illustration taken at random from Khafi Khan in Vol. VII of Elliot and Dowson's History will show :

"In the reign of former kings, and up to this year [1668 A. D.] the *Jharokha-i-darsan* [interview-window] had been a regular institution.....Many Hindus were known by the name of *Darsani*, for until they had seen the person of the king at the window, they put not a morsel of food into their mouths."

Such a practice would be inconceivable in the case of the Mussalman subjects of a Hindu king.

"The natives of India worked freely, loyally, with their eyes open, and with all their might and main, for their own subjection to a foreign power," says Colonel Malleon (*Decisive Battles of India*). "India can hardly be said to have been conquered at all by foreigners; she has rather conquered herself," says Sir John Seeley (*Expansion of England*). In another thoughtful passage, this well-known Cambridge professor of history says :

"It may seem that in Brahmanism India has a germ out of which sooner or later an Indian nationality might spring. And perhaps it is so; but yet we are to observe that in that case the nationality ought to have developed itself long since. For the Mussalman invasions, which have succeeded each other through so many centuries, have supplied precisely the pressure which was most likely to favour the development of the germ. Why did Brahmanism content itself with holding its own against Islam, and not rouse and unite India against the invader? It never did so. Brahmanical powers have risen in India. A chieftain named Sivaji.....founded the Mahratta Power. This was a truly Hindu organisation..... It might appear that in this confederacy there lay the nucleus of an Indian nationality, that Brahmanism was now about to do what has been done by so many other races by their religion. But nothing of the kind happened. Brahmanism did not pass into patriotism. Perhaps its facile comprehensiveness.....has enfeebled it as a uniting principle."

Let us now turn to Rajput and

Maratha patriotism. Mr. Bose surely does not forget that the Rajput and the Maratha not only opposed the Mahomedans, but fought each other. Tod, vol. I, ch. xviii, says as follows of the Rajput clans :

"To bring the wolf and the goat to drink from the same vessel" was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chandawat and the Suktawat labour in concert for the prince of the country."

And in his sketch of the Rajput feudal system, vol. I, ch. v, Tod says :

"The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction that they were never capable of uniting, even for their own preservation a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has severed their closest confederacies..... No feudal Government can be dangerous as a neighbour ; for defence, it has in all countries been found defective ; and for aggression, totally inefficient."

Tod speaks in terms of unmitigated denunciation of the Maratha invasions of Rajputana in several places of his monumental work, one or two extracts from which must suffice :

"Though professing the same creed, a wider difference in sentiment divided the Maratha from the Rajput, than from the despots of Delhi, whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable, because less degrading, than the rapacious meanness of the Southern." (I, xv.) "The Marathas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them." (I, xvi.) "But a new enemy had now arisen, and though of their own faith, far more destructive than even the intolerant Islamite." (I, xvii.) &c.

As for Bengal, the Marathas brought with them 'terror, desolation and despair' (Colonel Malleon). Major Rennel, a contemporary, in his *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* [3rd ed., 1793] says : "they are everywhere remembered with horror ; and I have myself beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity....." The Maratha bogey is still invoked in Bengali songs to make naughty children go to sleep, and the lullaby is eloquent evidence in support of these authorities. The whole matter has been treated at length in Prof. Kaliprasanna Banerjea's *History of Bengal in the 18th century*, pages 162-3, and the lurid picture there drawn is not at all exaggerated. Orissa was under Maratha rule from 1757 to 1803, when it was conquered by the British. In his *Memoir of the War in India* (London, 1818) Major Thorn says :

"A most satisfactory confidence was shown by all the priests and officers belonging to that extraordinary temple, as well as by the inhabitants of Jagannath, both in their present situation, and in the

future protection of the British Government." "The memory of these fifty years haunted the whole population like a nightmare, long after it [Orissa] passed under British rule." "The Marhattas had made themselves hated by every class of the people... and even the priests of Jagannath had learnt to detest their coreligionists for their endless extortions and rapine." (Hunter's Orissa, Vol II).

The third Battle of Panipat put an end to the Maratha dreams of supremacy. This is how Pandit Kasi Raja, himself a Maratha, concluded his Persian despatch on the subject, after having witnessed the battle with his own eyes :

"Those who reflect upon these transactions, will believe that Providence made use of Ahmad Shah Durani to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas, for in the eye of God pride is criminal." (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol III, London, 1807).

It would be inconceivable to an Englishman or Frenchman to indulge in reflections of this kind on the downfall of his own nation.

In Sir John Seeley's opinion, "in the Mahratta movement there never was anything elevated or patriotic, but that it continued from first to last to be an organisation of plunder." Grant Duff, in his *History of the Mahrattas* (London, 1826) says :

"The pre-eminence to which the Mahrattas had attained was animating and glorious.....but in their conquests, certainly, no other nation can sympathise : they were not animated by that patriotism which devotes itself merely for its country's weal, or its country's glory, the extension of their sway carried no freedom even to Hindus, except freedom of opinion...Destruction, rapine, oppression and tyranny were their more certain concomitants....." (Vol. II). *

We have had only a couple of hours in a busy day to furbish up our knowledge of Indian history since the receipt of Mr. Bose's book, but we trust the authorities we have cited will suffice. The Neo-Indian has nothing but profound admiration for the many excellent qualities of the Rajput and the Maratha, and a Bengali neo-Indian cannot but feel how much those qualities would have contributed to raise the Bengali character in public esteem. And no one is more patriotic among the modern Indian races than the Maratha Brahmin. That they were not actuated by the same feeling in the days of the Peshwas is due to the fact that the

* In recent years historians have passed a more favorable opinion on the founder of the Maratha power, without at the same time excusing the rapacity of those who were mere plunderers on a large scale.—Ed., M. R.

virtue of patriotism, as understood in these days, was then unknown in India. By contradicting this obvious fact, Mr. Bose only shows that his own knowledge of history is in fault. Mr. Bose has set his whole heart on preaching to his countrymen the need of the Spartan virtue of simplicity with a view to restore India's economic prosperity. But the first turn in the tide of fortune will raise the standard of living, and 'spread the comfort, decency, and æsthetics of western civilisation' (to quote Mr. Bose's own words), as

it is already doing among the comparatively well-to-do, and so the 'futilities, inutilities and superfluities' of civilisation, which we have the best evidence for saying were as much prevalent in ancient India having regard to its limited opportunities, as in modern Europe, will flock in once more, to the discomfiture of Mr. Bose and his pet sociological theories, without any aid from the neo-Indians against whom he is so angry, but through the operation of natural causes alone.

A BENGALI BRAHMAN.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

MORAL CONDITIONS.

[I wish to correct an inaccuracy in the last section of this Report, with regard to the action of the Indian Government in the matter of inserting the price of food-stuffs in the indenture contract. I find that I was mistaken in saying that a promise to do this had been publicly given. It was made to me personally, when I reported to the authorities in India the fraud that was being practised, but it was not given publicly in open Council.]

IN describing the moral conditions affecting Indian labour in Fiji, it will be unnecessary to repeat all the facts concerning the break-down of Indian married life which were given with much detail in the earlier Report published in 1916. To both Mr. Pearson and myself, on our first visit to the Islands, this was by far the most serious part of the evidence that was set before us. I have read through, very carefully, many times over what we then wrote. I have gone through it again and again, point by point, in Fiji itself, while living on the spot, and I feel to-day that it remains substantially accurate. It is, if anything, an under-statement of the case.

I would call special attention to the favourable evidence, in that Report, which Mr. Pearson brought back from the north side of the Island concerning domestic conditions among Indians away from the coolie 'lines' and the Mills. After a long

stay on that coast, I have found his own estimate singularly correct. I have been able fully to verify his statement that in some of the free settlements the normal Hindu life, with its purer domestic morals, was reasserting itself.—This is, perhaps, the most hopeful piece of news which I can carry back to India and report on my arrival, and I would put it at the forefront of all that I have to say later.

Even when making the fullest possible allowance for this encouraging factor, it would still be difficult to overstate the gravity of the general situation. The murders, suicides and violent crimes still go on with unrelieved monotony. The abominable trafficking in young girls for marriage—the selling of them, now to one husband, and then, a few months later, to another,—still is rife. Wives still desert their husbands, and pass from one man to another, with appalling frequency. Cohabitation with tiny girls of nine and ten and eleven years of age is still practised and parents encourage it. The fouler vices cannot be written about in detail, but there is evidence of them in many places,—though, it is a relief to add, they do not seem yet to have infected the whole indentured population. In mentioning these things quite plainly, as I am obliged to do, it is not meant, for one moment, to lay the blame primarily on the Indian people concerned. The root of them all has been the wholesale importation of labour, for financial gain,

without any due regard for marriage or sex.

Again and again, with monotonous frequency, Indian fathers have come up to me and said,—“Sahib, I intend to get my son married in India, not in Fiji. This country is altogether bad,”—and I have known exactly what they meant by that word ‘bad.’ Others have come to me about their daughters, telling me that they wished to take them back to India, and to get them safely married there. “Sahib,” they have said to me, “here, in Fiji, all women become bad,”—and again I have easily understood just what that word ‘bad’ implied. There are, I believe, literally thousands, who would be glad to go back to India to-morrow in order to get free from their marriage entanglements and troubles. In every part of Fiji, that I have visited, the same story is told to me,—“Sahib,” they say, “there may be plenty of money to be obtained in Fiji, but there is no peace of mind.”—“Sahib, what am I to do with these young children? My wife has deserted me.”—“Sahib, I had my boy married by Hindu rites, and spent two hundred rupees on the wedding, and now the father has taken the girl away and married her to some one else. What am I to do? There is no justice in Fiji.” This same repetition has gone on now month after month unceasingly, each story having its own peculiar detail.

It has been very noticeable to me that while on my first visit a large proportion of the cases, which came before me, were concerning ‘land’ troubles, on this occasion the marriage troubles were far more numerous. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to put them down as high as ninety per cent. What has been noticeable to me, also, has been the volume of the growing discontent.

This was quite unexpected; for I had imagined that, with the closing down of the indenture and the stoppage of all immigration, immediate relief would have been felt. But to-day the marriage troubles seem everywhere to be the one absorbing topic and the bitterness goes very deep indeed. Probably the fact that there is no steamer now arriving to take people back to India accounts for a great deal. Men and women came daily up to me in the street and on the road asking the question,—“Sahib, when is the ship coming to take us back?” There is a sense of injustice,—a

feeling as if they had been trapped,—when the answer is given, that there can be little hope of going away till some time after the war.

By far the most serious feature of the whole situation (concerning which very strong evidence has been brought before me), is this, that the children are growing up with habits even more lax than those of the parents themselves. They have been reared in the coolie ‘lines’, in the very midst of evil, and they have been so accustomed to it, that it has become commonplace. In a great number of cases, the father of the child is scarcely known; the mother has had to work all day in the fields; some woman of the ‘lines’ has been paid by the overseer to look after the children in batches; family life has been an impossibility.

I was anxious to see, on my arrival, whether the overwhelmingly bad impression of the coolie ‘lines’ would be as strong this time as on my earlier visit. I found very little difference. It is true there has been a certain amount of external improvement. But the faces of the men and women and the neglected children told me much the same story as before,—the story of depravity and vice.

I did not wish to trust merely to my own impressions on this very important point. I have made enquiries, therefore, on every hand, and the verdict has been the same. For example, I was told by one responsible authority that there had been an alarming increase in petty crime during the years 1915-1917, especially juvenile crime. Again, all those who have been engaged in school work agree on one point, that the parents seem to have no control over their children. Educated Indians, who know their own people, speak very pessimistically about the home life. An English lady in Suva, concerning whom all Indians speak with reverence for her motherly care of their young girls,—a lady who has lived in India and knows the dark side of Indian life there,—gave me a description of what her experience has been in Fiji. She carefully weighed every word, as she gave me her evidence, telling me about the environment and home conditions of one after another of her pupils. The general opinion she had formed was very gloomy indeed about the future. I made a further enquiry from one of the most trustworthy missionaries, who has also lived and

worked in India. He told me that the condition of home life in Fiji was far worse than that which he had seen in India. Another missionary who has lived with his wife and children in closest possible contact with Indian life gave me a still more gloomy picture. Indian childhood in Fiji is in danger of being ruined, for one generation at least, by the evil habits which are becoming ingrained in the domestic life of the people, owing to the vices of the coolie 'lines'.

It is necessary to contradict the very prevalent idea in Fiji that the great bulk of Indian immigrants were already criminals and prostitutes in India before they came out. That a certain proportion had this character is undoubted; but I have ample evidence to prove that the proportion was small and not large. By far the greater number have been villagers of a decent type, whose homes in India would be altogether different from those that now predominate in Fiji. I have seen the recruits in India and questioned the magistrates who have examined them before they signed their indentures: I have made full enquiries at the Emigration Office and watched very carefully the faces of those whom I have met in the coolie 'lines',—especially the new comers. I have seen Government statements on the subjects, both in Fiji and in India, and have paid visits to different 'depots' in India. From all these sources of information the conclusion is amply verified, that by far the greater proportion of Indians who have come out to Fiji under indenture are average village people.

The conviction has been forced upon me, during my second visit,—growing stronger instead of weaker the longer I stayed in the Islands,—that on this one fundamentally important side of moral life with which I am now dealing things have been growing worse every year especially in and about the coolie 'lines.' The pity of it is that in other directions things have improved. But this is keeping everything back.

As I have already stated, the exception that I found to this statement,—and it is a highly important exception,—is that where the Indians have gone right away from the mill centres and the old coolie 'lines' and started a new village life of their own, things have become more satisfactory. This is the one factor in my experience of

this marriage evil that makes me really hopeful, if only the present evils do not spread and increase before indenture altogether expires in November, 1921.

Even at the risk of some repetition (since the subject is so urgent and vital) it seems to me advisable to go briefly into the main causes of this epidemic of vice in the coolie 'lines' of Fiji.

The first cause has undoubtedly been the altogether vicious system of recruiting that was practised in India. It should be carefully noted that the recruiting agents were all of them paid servants of the Crown Colonies, so that these Colonies must share with the Indian Government the responsibility for the evil of the past. In the earlier report, the estimate was given that as many as eighty per cent. of those Indians who came out to Fiji had been fraudulently recruited. I feel now, after further enquiry, that this was probably too high a figure, though I find that educated Indians in Fiji, who have made enquiries, would regard it as a correct estimate. But even if a lower figure be accepted, it seems almost incredible, that such trafficking in women should have been permitted to go on in the Twentieth Century, in modern India, under British Rule,—the recruiter being paid, per head, so much more for a woman than for a man.

The second cause has been the great disproportion of the sexes.

I have seen with my own eyes the printed official correspondence of the year 1883 in which the Colonial Secretary in Fiji insists that the proportion of women sent out in each ship shall not exceed 33 per 100 men. In this same correspondence the Emigration Agent in Calcutta asks permission from the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, to raise the number of women to 40 per hundred: though (he adds significantly) such a high percentage of women may not easily be found. The official correspondence ends with a curt letter from the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, commanding the Emigration Agent, Calcutta, in spite of his protest, to *reduce the number of women in future to 33 per 100 men.*

Such a record as this needs but little comment. It is easy to understand where the pressure came from, which caused the Fiji Government to insist on the lower proportion of women being sent out against the advice of its own agent, who, even at that early date, could see the con-

sequences of such a disgraceful sex proportion. It is quite useless to plead, in the face of such a correspondence as this, that the consequences of a low sex rate were not foreseen. The managers of the Sugar Companies and the officials of the Fiji Government were intelligent men and knew what they were doing. But just as in the case of the old factory system in England, so in the case of the indenture system in Fiji, the hard and unnatural economic laws (so-called) were brought in, to justify inhuman conditions. At some later date than 1883 (which I have not been able to trace) the Indian Government insisted on the proportion of women being raised to 40 per hundred men, and there the Indian Government most culpably allowed things to remain. I am told that in the year 1913 the Planters of the Ba District passed a resolution at a local meeting that it would be advisable to raise the percentage of Indian women imported. I would give them all the credit for passing that resolution, but it does not seem to have led to any action being taken.

The third cause, which helps to account for the break-down of Indian family life, has been the condition of the coolie 'lines' at the Mills and on the plantations. It must be remembered that enormous profits have been made out of the great Sugar Industry in recent years. To give an example, I asked at a Planters' Meeting the question, whether it was not true that the planters alone (who are a small body of men) had put fifteen lakhs extra profits in their own pockets since the war began, and I was answered in the affirmative. Indeed, afterwards, I was told by the highest authority at head quarters, that I might have put the figure much higher. Even this is not by any means the whole amount of the profits obtained, because this sum does not take into account the gains of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company itself and the two other companies; and, from all that one can gather, the profits of the C. S. R. Company during war-time (which are carefully kept secret) must have been fabulous. Yet up to the end of 1917 scarcely more than a few pounds of these profits had been spent on the obvious duty of putting up separate quarters for the married couples. I have only heard of two estates which had taken this in hand before I reached Fiji, and it is probable

that a couple of hundred pounds would cover the whole cost of what had been done up to the time when I left the Islands.

I am thankful to be able to add, that there is now a genuine movement on the north side of the main island, to provide separate married quarters for the people who work on the estates. The proposal has been sent up to the Fiji Government that the planters are prepared to put up separate reed huts, with sanitary arrangements, which may cost from £5 to £10 each, according to the style of building, and, in the course of time, this, or some similar scheme is likely to be put into operation.

What the state of the coolie 'lines' must have been only a few years ago, before certain modifications (such as separate kitchens) were insisted on by the Government, can better be imagined than described. I have often sat inside one of the cubicles, or partitions, which are built to accommodate either one whole family or three adult unmarried men, but the air was usually so foul as to be hardly breathable for long, and vermin of all kinds abounded. Under a specially watchful employer, these 'lines' may be kept fairly clean, but that appears to be the exception, not the rule. It is true that, in later years, much has been done to improve the drainage and sanitary arrangements, but no pains have been taken to improve the moral sanitation. In one set of 'lines' which I visited I was told that there were twenty-four men living with six women, in another there were nineteen men and six women, and these disproportionate figures are not unfrequently met with. I have found a married couple in one compartment of the 'lines' and unmarried men,—three in each cubicle,—on either side of the married couple, with such a thin partition between that every least sound passed through. Under such conditions family life loses all decency, all privacy, all possibility of healthy development. Yet it only required a few hundred pounds at the most, on each estate, out of the enormous war profits, and a few thousand pounds at the Mill centres, to provide, for many years to come, suitable, healthy separate houses for the married people, and to give them a decent chance of living as man and wife should live.

A fourth cause has been so repeatedly

brought to my notice by the most responsible and thoughtful among the Indians themselves, that I feel it necessary to give to it the prominence which their emphasis demands. Indeed, they have often mentioned it to me,—Hindu, Musalman and Christian alike,—as the root beginning of all the shamelessness of Indian women in Fiji. It is the fact that, contrary to all Indian custom, the women have been obliged when attending hospitals to expose their persons before men. Especially among the Hindusthani women from North India I found this feeling most acute. It is probable that if I had been able to speak Tamil and Telugu I should have found the same feeling there also. Only in Suva is there a resident Matron. All hospitals for the sugar estates are in charge of male hospital assistants, who are not even qualified doctors. There are no matrons or trained nurses. It has been a profound satisfaction to understand that the Viceroy has taken immediate action to get this state of things remedied in Fiji, and that one company has already appointed its own resident matron.

A fifth cause of the moral degradation has been the misery and monotony of life on the plantations. This misery has driven many to commit suicide, though the more frequent cause has been some quarrel about a woman in the 'lines.' The men, under these monotonous conditions, take to vice, just as the same class in England take to drink. They have nothing else to do,—no amusement, no recreation, no religious or other interests. The women, also, in their hopelessly inferior numbers and isolation from the outside world, are practically compelled to give themselves over to the passions of the men. To make the degradation complete, not infrequently in the past, the overseers themselves were isolated, unmarried men, who shared in the general vice of the place. It is a relief to add that now married employers have become the rule on most of the estates; but the evil effects of the old regime cannot be obliterated in a day. There are still too many cases of illicit intercourse.

A sixth cause, which was dwelt upon at great length in the earlier Report, has been the refusal in the past to recognise Hindu and Muhammadan marriage, performed according to due religious rites, as legal. This led to a fatal conviction, especially

among Hindu women, that their own marriage, religiously performed, was not binding. Thus Hindu married women were passed on from one husband to another without any sense of disgrace, and there is always a crowd of wifeless Indian men in Fiji who are ready to bribe them or tempt them away. A new Marriage Law, recognising religious marriage, has now been passed, and it is hoped that matters will improve in this direction.

Beyond all these causes, yet arising out of them all, there has gradually come about in Fiji a sense of despair with regard to the home life among Indians, which has led to things being permitted and countenanced, such as would never be allowed for one moment in India itself. These evils have spread like some moral plague, and certain centres appear to be the plague spots from which infection and contamination go forth. In many of the larger coolie 'lines' (especially those nearer the Mills) the vicious atmosphere seems to have reached the point of saturation. Each new family, that comes out from India and enters this atmosphere, seems to catch the disease. The husband is told that he must allow his wife to be used for immoral purposes because of the number of men who are wifeless: 'it is the Fiji *dustoor*.' If, at first, the man vehemently objects (as is usually the case), he is told that this place is not India, but Fiji; and in Fiji the *dustoor* is such and such. The word '*dosti*' is used for this relation of unmarried men to a married wife, and the word '*dost*', in Fiji, has nearly always a bad significance. It is out of these '*dost*' relations that practically all the violent crimes among Indians occur. The woman is the victim.

The same evils, in an aggravated form, are repeated in the case of children. A great number of young girls of tender age are married to grown up men, the number of adult women being so small. This makes a perpetual shortage of girls for mating with those boys who have just reached the marriageable age. On account of this shortage in Fiji, fathers are desperately anxious to get brides for their sons as soon as possible. A little girl of eight or nine years old will often be chosen, and the marriage duly performed. But, seeing that this marriage is '*kuccha*' and has no validity in the eyes of the law, the boy's father is in continual dread lest

the girl should be given to some other youth. This fear makes the boy's father claim, that the little girl shall come and live at his house and cohabit with his son, long before the age of puberty is reached. Cases are known in Fiji of young Indian girls of eleven bearing children that are so diminutive as scarcely to appear human offspring at all.

At first, the things that I have mentioned seemed to me almost incredible, and for some time I refused to believe them; but they have been proved to me incontestably and they seem to evoke little or no shame. There is no public conscience. Sometimes the young girls are sold four or five times over before they have reached the age of fourteen, and yet not a voice is lifted up against it: not a door is closed to the offender.

It is necessary to recall some of the salient features of Indian village life in order to compare it with what is happening in Fiji. The village community of India is a very complex growth, and because of its self-contained character it has withstood the shock of centuries of invasion and conquest. The marriage relations within its circle are adjusted with great care: indeed the village *panchayat*, and the caste *biradari* are largely occupied with this duty, and their ruling is rarely disputed or gainsaid. Added to this, among men and women alike, there is a special religious sanctity attached to marriage. This sentiment about marriage is upheld, with all the fervour of a creed, in every Hindu village, where caste is observed, throughout the North of India,—that is to say, throughout those villages from which the early emigrants came who landed in Fiji.

The high average happiness of Indian village life, in spite of its extreme poverty, is due in a very large measure to the chastity of the women and their devotion to their own husbands. This makes a bed-rock foundation for society, upon which life itself can be built up securely. The longer I have lived in India, the more deeply has this fact been borne in upon my mind. In the towns, indeed, there can be little doubt that much immorality exists: there is also a much lower moral standard among the non-caste people. My experience of Indian village life is limited to the North; but as five out of every six Indians in Fiji come from the North and the earlier emigration

was entirely from North India, such limitation in my experience does not touch the main issue.

In the face of all this, we have to ask ourselves again and again the question,—how can it possibly have happened that these very same women in Fiji have become so unspeakably corrupt themselves in their married life and are to-day teaching and training their daughters to follow a like course?

I have already written about the main causes,—the system of recruiting in India, the low proportion of emigrant women, the crowded coolie 'lines', the breaking down of the Indian woman's modesty, the flouting of the Indian religious sentiment of marriage. All these things have borne their part in the general moral collapse, and yet there is something beyond, something which remains unexplained,—so complete has been the downfall.

The explanation, which Mr. Gandhi gave me, after he had seen the notes which Mr. Pearson and I had taken on our previous visit, appears to me now to go deepest of all and to be most convincing. It is this.—There are two marked stages of development, the 'communal' and the 'individual.' The interval between these two stages, during which human life passes from one to the other, is the most critical time of all. The Indian village woman has been used to the communal life of her own village, with its religious and social traditions and sanctions. These all helped, in a thousand ways, to preserve the sacredness of her married state. But the recruiting agent for indentured labour in the Colonies came her way, and she fell a victim. The recruiter collected his units, here and there, in a haphazard manner, according as opportunity presented. The whole process was clumsy and unscientific, ruthless and immoral. It tore up by the roots the old healthy communal life and put nothing in its place. It snatched one woman from this village and another from that, and then proceeded to cast forth their broken lives, without any discrimination, into the coolie 'lines' of Fiji.

Castes, creeds, races, religions were jumbled together in chaotic confusion. Muhammadans cohabited with Hindus, and Sweepers with Brahmins. Out of the wreckage of the old Indian village life, with its traditional marriage sanctity, a pitifully crippled, maimed, and diseased hu-

manity struggled with feeble efforts to build itself up afresh. The evil done to the villages of India, through the breaking up of village homes by the recruiters, was scarcely less tragic than the evil wrought upon the Indian village women when they reached Fiji.

Here, then, according to Mr. Gandhi, lay the root of all the mischief. It consisted in the ruthless uprooting of the Indian village communal life. Those who introduced the indenture system never paused for a moment to consider the Indian character, or to study Indian conditions. The human lives of the Indian women,—their marriage ties and sanctions,—were nothing to them. They had one object in view,—they wanted to make money quickly, and they made it.

Such are some of the facts which thoughtful Indians are remembering to-day with bitterness in their hearts. The Indian people, as a whole, are one of the most patient and long suffering among the races of mankind. They will endure poverty and want and outward oppression. But there is one thing that they will never endure. They will not allow any slight or insult to be offered to the chastity of their women.

I wish to refer, in concluding this special subject, to a very remarkable comparison which throws light upon the whole subject. In the Malay Peninsula the Indian labour has been free for many years past. The men and women pass freely backwards and forwards and frequently change the estate on which they work. They are in no way bound down for five years, by indenture, to one single set of coolie 'lines.' Though my time in the Peninsula was short, I had a unique opportunity of getting at the true facts concerning the Indian domestic life. The result was, as I have said, remarkable. While there were other very serious evils, there was no trace of this epidemic of vice which has infected the coolie 'lines' of Fiji. I went very carefully into the statistics under different heads and made, as far as time allowed, a searching enquiry. I am convinced that a longer stay in the country would not have materially altered my conclusion. The special marriage evil, with which I have dealt so fully, does not exist in any contagious form among Indians in Malaya. On the other hand, when I went over the same facts with a

late Home Member of the Government of India, who had recently visited the Andamans, he found that his experience of conditions there tallied with my own. It would appear then to be certain, that the close nature of confinement to special coolie 'lines' under indenture has been at the very root of all the mischief and not merely the low proportion of women to men. This is, on the whole, hopeful and encouraging, because it seems to show that, when the indenture system is finally abolished, this vice, which is the very worst of all, will gradually disappear.

In all that I have written above, I have tried carefully to avoid exaggeration. The earlier Report, which gave all the salient facts, has now been before the public for nearly three years, and the mass of detailed evidence there given has never been challenged. All the statements which I have made in this article were placed before the planters, officials and Company managers in Fiji some time before I left the Island, with the request that if any definite facts could be brought to my notice, modifying the picture which I described, I would gladly insert them. Furthermore, while circulating this statement of my findings, I gave my address in India for any one who wished to correspond with me after my departure. Only one single point of importance has been brought to my notice and I have modified one paragraph accordingly. I have also inserted the date of the letters which passed between the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, and the Emigration Agent, Calcutta, as given above, at the request of the Agent General of Immigration, Suva.

It is with an intense feeling of relief that one turns from this aspect of Indian life in Fiji to others which are far less painful and appear to be on the whole satisfactory. One of the most striking is the independence and initiative of the free Indians.

During the indenture period, except on certain well managed estates, the sense of depression remains. I shall never in all my life forget the look of misery and servitude on the faces of a large group of indentured labourers in the South of the Island as they came up to me in a body and threw themselves flat on the ground, abjectly weeping and imploring my protection. In all the fifteen years I have spent in India I have never seen a group

of men and women sunk so low in abject fear. Again and again I have noticed this look of fear in labour gangs on plantations. At the same time, I have seen Indian labour gangs under indenture which were as fearless in their appearance and conduct as any free men. So much depends on the individual employer. On the North side of the Island there are quite a number of employers who treat their men well, and over a large area, especially in the Nadi District, such good treatment might be regarded as the rule rather than the exception.

It is when the full freedom from indenture comes that the remarkable resource and initiative in Indian character begins to show itself clearly. The thrift and industry with which they cultivate their land, held on lease, is worthy of all praise. There is an air of prosperity along the northern and western coasts, and the cultivation of the soil is clearly destined to pass more and more into Indian hands. Almost the whole of this industry is built up on borrowed capital, but so fertile is the soil and so prosperous are the conditions, that debts are very rarely left unpaid. In land matters the Indian agriculturist has already gained a fair reputation for faithful fulfilment of contract.

All along the country side, far into the interior, may be seen these Indian settlements. On more prosperous ones, sugar will be grown, on those which are less advanced, maize and dhal, with sometimes a patch of bananas. At each settlement a small number of cattle are certain to be seen and not seldom the Indian farmer will have a horse of his own to ride on. A considerable proportion of these Indian tenants have now learnt to hold their own with the Europeans. There is very little of that insistence on race superiority on the part of the Europeans which I found so universal in South Africa. The two countries are almost poles asunder in this respect, though even in Fiji, as will appear later, certain galling restrictions remain.

It was a continual question of interest to me how far the complete rejection of caste by the Indians in Fiji (for it is as near as possible complete) had affected their lives. It has been already seen how in the marriage relations the sudden breakdown of all caste restrictions has played terrible havoc with the people.

But there have been certain compensations which must not be overlooked. The power of individual initiative has certainly become greater in Fiji than in India itself. The men are more self-reliant. I also met with a strength and vehemence of character among the women which I had not seen in India. Indeed it was so strange as to appear at first sight a dangerously adverse factor. It has certainly led more than anything else among free Indians to the constant repudiation of the marriage tie. But, all the same, it may be regarded in one sense as a 'woman's movement' towards freedom, away from the extreme submissiveness under the caste system. The Indian women in Fiji, being in the minority, have learnt their power, and no husband can ill-treat his wife with impunity. The pity is, that nothing whatever has been done to increase their intelligence, and this new-found freedom appears to lead them more than ever to be the dupes of every charlatan in an ochre coloured dress.

A further effect of the rejection of caste by the Hindus has been the splitting up of the community into all kinds of divisions and disunions. There is very little sense of the corporate life. Each Hindu is inclined to live very much to himself. The members of the Arya Samaj appear to have a corporate feeling, but it is at present too negative in its character and has roused the bitterest opposition. Yet this itself may be a sign of vitality and growing independence.

In contrast with the bulk of the Hindu population the Muhammadans in Fiji have retained their own social system and in the past few years their religious life has shewn clear signs of revival. In the marriage difficulties they appear to suffer equally with Hindus and there are the same troubles in their homes. The Christian community, though very small and not rapidly increasing, has advanced in education far more than other bodies. Its home life is also more carefully guarded.

If the Indian community as a whole is to be given the opportunity to regain what it has lost through the evils of the indenture system, then the following things appear to be necessary:—

(i) The immediate closing down of the last years of service in the coolie 'lines' of those under indenture.

(ii) Inducements to be given to unmarried men in Fiji to return to India to get wives.

(iii) The present coolie lines to be entirely reconstructed on a different model, allowing for separate detached dwellings for married people.

(iv) Matrons to be provided in all the larger Indian hospitals.

(v) The provision of shipping, for repatriation and communication with India, as early as possible after the war.

Other constructive proposals with regard to education and citizenship will be found in the next article which will conclude this Report.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

NOTES

The Blessing and Privilege of Strength.

The present juncture in the world's history enables one to realise what a blessing and a privilege it is to be strong. The strong nations of the world can not only determine the course of their own history, so far as it lies in man to do so, but they can also be co-workers with God in establishing the reign of law and righteousness in world-politics, world-commerce and world-economics. One can still more clearly understand this privilege and blessing of strength by contrasting the position of the strong with that of the weak. The weak whine and cringe and beg. They accuse only others for their miseries, and grow envious and fill their minds with hatred. They indulge in impotent rage, and voice forth *demands*, trying to delude themselves into the belief that these are not prayers. They forget that it is quite practicable for even the weakest nation to be strong enough not to beg. They forget that though the world generally takes only those to be strong who can impose their will and inflict pain and loss on others, the highest strength lies in choosing to suffer strongly.

The strong too often forget the right use of strength, which is service. They think that strength has been given them for gaining their selfish objects. They are careless of the means they employ. They inflict suffering on others in order that they themselves may be "happy". It is thus that strength becomes a curse.

The opportunity, which the strong nations of the world have now got, to make all kinds of international relations

moral and spiritual, will put their culture and civilisation and their religion to the test. They have come victorious out of one Armageddon. It will require all their strength and all their faith in justice, freedom and true democracy to keep themselves and the world out of another; for Asia and Africa will also have their day in the not distant future. They have declared again and again that they have fought for the freedom of the world and for justice and democracy. Time will show whether they spoke the truth. It does not require any spiritual strength to be just to the strong,—that is a virtue of necessity. But it does require great spiritual strength and true self-abnegation to be just to the weak. It does not test the genuineness of one's democratic principles and the strength and depth of one's faith in human nature to recognise the right of strong nations and peoples to choose their own forms of government, culture and social and economic policy. The test comes when it has to be decided whether weak or backward or unorganised peoples are also to have the right.

Administrative Experience.

When it was announced some time ago that an English gentleman named Captain Lloyd had been chosen to succeed Lord Willingdon as Governor of Bombay, people wondered who he was. It was clear he was a military officer, though of the lowest rank but one. But military experience alone does not qualify one for a governorship;—so great a soldier as Lord Kitchener was not thought fit for the Viceroyalty of India. So it was

said that though Captain (now Sir George) Lloyd had never governed even a hamlet or a village lane, he had travelled in some Musalman countries: but that is scarcely equivalent to administrative experience. Nevertheless, one may believe that he may prove a better governor than Lord Sydenham, Lord Harris, Lord Lamington, or Lord Willingdon. It is possible for a man to succeed in discharging the duties of a high office, though he may not be possessed of previous administrative experience. But the possession of previous administrative experience is generally recognised as a surer guarantee of success.

Indians are not appointed to high administrative posts, on the ground of their want of administrative experience; they cannot, it is said, have full responsible government even in the most advanced provinces for the same reason: though in times past Indians have governed empires, kingdoms, provinces and districts, and in recent times they have proved themselves equal to any work with which they have been entrusted. Bearing in mind these past and recent records of Indians, and seeing that utter lack of administrative experience does not stand in the way of an Englishman becoming even the governor of a Presidency, one may be justified in presuming that our want of experience is not the only or main reason for not giving us the highest posts and full responsible government. The more probable reason is to be found in the opinion generally prevalent among Europeans that Indians are racially inferior to them. Their self-interest strengthens this wrong opinion.

A just man is bound to say that experience is a qualification and want of experience its opposite in the case of both Europeans and Indians. But Britishers generally think that Indians, however qualified, are unfit for the highest offices, and that their own countrymen, however inexperienced, are fit for even the highest offices in India, though not in England. In other words, they think that there is something in the British blood which makes Britishers born statesmen and administrators, *if India is to be the scene of their labours*. The absurdity of such a belief cannot be proved from the pictures of the lion in India painted by himself. Here every Britisher who has

ever held any office, from the viceroyalty downwards, has been a marvellous success, and the Indian Civil Service (in the opinion of its members and interested advocates and admirers) is the most efficient service in the world; though the fact is that, along with able and good men, there have been many noodles and bad men among British officials of all ranks in India, and though chronic starvation and frequent famines, the appalling death-roll from malaria, plague and other diseases, and the illiteracy of the masses, clearly show that the British Government in India is yet very far from its repeatedly declared goal. But Britishers will not admit all this. In the history of England, however, it has been admitted by British historians of all shades of political opinion that there some administrators and statesmen have been highly successful, others have been moderately successful, whilst a good many have been total failures. This shows that British birth alone does not make men administrators and statesmen. It may be admitted, however, that there is something in the air and water, and particularly in the salt of India, which makes every Britisher out here eminently qualified for his office;—just as the salt of India has also the undesirable property of making numerous Britishers who have eaten it untrue to it in the highest degree.

“An Equal Voice.”

It has been authoritatively stated that in the coming peace negotiations India is to have an equal voice with the self-governing Dominions. But considering the constitution (or rather, want of constitution) of India and the constitutions of the Dominions, an equal voice is out of the question. As the latter have complete internal autonomy, their governments are chosen by themselves; consequently their ministers and others who will represent them in the Peace Congress will be men elected by their countrymen. India, on the contrary, is to be represented by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner. We have not the least desire to say anything against either of these gentlemen in their private capacities. Both are patriotic according to their lights. But Sir S. P. Sinha is a Government official chosen by the Government of India to represent itself. The interests of the Government of India

are not identical with those of the people of India. The Maharaja of Bikaner is to represent the ruling chiefs of India. But he, too, has been chosen, not by these chiefs themselves, but by the Government of India. The proper thing would have been to allow the chiefs to assemble in a conference and after due deliberation under the chairmanship of one of themselves to elect one of themselves as their representative in the Peace Congress. It is not impossible that the Maharaja of Bikaner would have been chosen by his fellows. But there would have been this difference that he would have been free to act according to the views and interests of the chiefs, whereas in his present position as a nominee of the Government of India it is implied that he is not to go against the views and interests of the ruling bureaucracy. Similarly with respect to Sir S. P. Sinha, if he had been chosen by his countrymen to represent them, he would have been freer to follow his patriotic bent than he would be as a servant and nominee of the Government of India. It is true that Government might and could have chosen two Indians worse than these gentlemen to represent itself. Still that does not obviate the necessity of Indians having their own representatives at the Peace Congress elected by themselves.

As the Indian National Congress is, under the present circumstances of India, the oldest and most representative body, its president should be deputed to speak for the people at the Peace Congress. As Mr. B. G. Tilak was unanimously elected president of the next congress and as he is already in England, he ought to be allowed to act as our representative. Or, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is actually to preside over the next session, may be allowed to proceed to Europe as our representative. Syed Hasan Imam, who was our president on the last occasion when Congress assembled in a special session, may also be our representative. There are three men to choose from. But seeing that Mr. Tilak is already in Europe, his services as our representative would be the most easily available. Should it be thought that the Congress does not adequately represent Musalman views, the Raja of Mahmudabad, the last President of the Moslem League, may be chosen as another popular representative of India.

Attention to the Problem of India.

So long as the war lasted the Tory and Anglo-Indian cry was that England was too busy with the war to attend to the Indian problem. Now that the war is over, the cry has been raised that England is pre-occupied with peace negotiations,—to which may be added the attention which the coming general election must require. When the elections are over and peace will have been concluded, the cry may be raised that England is busy with reconstructing her own industrial and commercial fabric and her new national system of education. And so on and so forth. There is nothing wrong in a people thinking of its own affairs first and foremost. But why has England made herself responsible for the welfare of India, if she cannot pay due attention to Indian problems at the proper time, if at all? The old woman in the story who admonished Mahmud of Ghazni, saying, "Sire, keep no more territory than thou canst well govern," spoke only the bare truth. It may be a historical fact, as British historians allege, that England could not help taking charge of India. But now that it has been proved beyond doubt that England cannot pay timely and adequate attention to Indian affairs, and when educated Indians are able, willing and eager to manage them, why do Britishers insist on playing the role of trustees seeing that they cannot discharge the duties thereof? It is unrighteous not to allow others to do work which is by natural right theirs, particularly when the self-styled trustees are pre-occupied with other things.

Even if the British nation were perfectly dutiful towards India and quite well-informed about her affairs, they would not have been able to do as much for the welfare of India as free Indians can. No nation is wise and disinterested enough to govern another justly and well. Moreover, the fund of energy which a nation possesses is not inexhaustible. No nation can, therefore, do enough both for itself and for a foreign nation. Either it must neglect its own affairs or it must neglect the affairs of its dependencies. What has always, and naturally, happened, is that it is the affairs of the dependencies which have been neglected. They have been generally attended to only to the extent that the

interests of the ruling nation required that the affairs of its dependants should be looked after. Therefore, it was not an armchair politician, not a mere doctrinaire, but a practical statesman who spoke when Mr. A. J. Balfour said: "We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

Imperial Preference.

It is said that when after the conclusion of peace the British Empire resumes its normal industrial and commercial activities, Imperial Preference will be the order of the day. But will the policy of imperial preference be in consonance with the following sentences in President Wilson's famous September speech, delivered on the eve of the opening of the United States fourth Liberty Loan?

"Fourthly, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League [of Nations] and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control." "..... Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere, as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms."

Will not imperial preference give rise to economic rivalries and hostilities?

So long as India does not come to possess full fiscal, industrial and commercial autonomy, so long as British and Dominion industrialists and merchants can continue to take advantage of India's economic helplessness, India cannot but think that England and the Dominions should be as much discriminated against as any other country. If the other parts of the British Empire will not allow us to follow that policy which is good for us in our own opinion, why are we to prefer them to other foreign countries either as buyers or as sellers? Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions undoubtedly want imperial preference of a kind which will benefit them. But if it be of a kind which will not benefit us, why should we be forced to accept it? There is neither virtue nor profit in enforced sacrifice.

Already a correspondent of the *Englishman* and its editor also have raised the

cry that German goods must be boycotted in the Indian market for a number of years. This is an admission that economic exclusion may be good and allowable under certain circumstances. If so, why is not India allowed to choose the circumstances, and the countries to be discriminated against? Salvation does not certainly lie in being exploited, impoverished and weakened by Germany. But does it lie in being exploited, impoverished and weakened by Japan, or Britain, or any other country? Even after peace has been concluded with Germany, or the different republics springing out of Germany's ashes, it may be the orthodox Anglo-Indian doctrine to hold that German industrialists and merchants are the enemies of the British Empire and particularly of India; but Indians cannot accept it as gospel truth that British and Anglo-Indian firms are the friends and brethren of Indians until we have got a practical demonstration of the fact. If India is to be condemned to remain a producer of raw materials, let us have at least the freedom to sell in the most advantageous markets in the world; and if we must continue to import most of the manufactured goods we require, let us have the liberty to buy in the markets most advantageous for us. The best thing for us would be the liberty to decide to what extent we should produce and export raw materials and to what extent we should have recourse to manufacturing industries, and to adopt the policy and the means necessitated by our decision.

Interview with Sir S. P. Sinha.

The Associated Press of India have published a brief report of an interview which a representative of theirs had in Bombay with Sir S. P. Sinha, who said in part:—

I naturally appreciate the high honour done to me personally, but I value it even more because the British Cabinet has definitely recognised the right of the Government of India to participate independently with the governments of the Dominions overseas in all deliberations affecting the Empire as a whole. I have endeavoured to make a special study with the assistance of representatives of the Government of India of commercial and economic questions affecting India which are likely to arise at the Peace Conference, and I have been furnished with the views of the Government of India, Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies and public associations in India. If doubtful points arise in the course of the proceedings I shall of course refer to the Government of India. I hope I may say without impertinence that the Government of India are actuated by a

wholehearted desire to protect Indian interests generally and in particular the interest of Indian producers and so further the development and expansion of Indian industries. If my countrymen knew my instructions they would realize it as clearly as I do myself, but I hope that they will bear in mind that though Indian interests are our primary concern larger Imperial interests have to be borne in mind and India must be prepared to bear her fair share of Empire responsibilities.....We realize that the future is for those nations who will know how to regulate themselves and their affairs with patience, sobriety and due regard not only for their own interests but also for the rights and interests of others.

It is no doubt better in one sense that the *Government of India* should be represented than that it should not; but from another point of view it is worse than no representation. Because this representation of the *Government of India* will enable the British Cabinet to say that *India* has been represented and given an equal voice with the Dominions; whereas the real truth is that it is the governing bureaucracy which has been given representation, *not the people of India*.

We have no means of judging whether the *Government of India* "are actuated by a whole-hearted desire to protect Indian interests"; but charitably assuming that they are, their view of what are "Indian interests" is not necessarily our view of our interests. The government of every Viceroy and Governor-General has claimed to be actuated by a whole-hearted desire to protect our interests; and yet these have hitherto remained unprotected or inadequately protected in most respects. We the people of the country know better than the best-disposed bureaucracy how and in what directions our interests suffer. No one but ourselves can adequately safeguard all our interests. And, therefore, so long as the *Government of India* is not *our Government*, no assurance that our interests would be protected can give us satisfaction.

"The development and expansion of Indian industries" may mean, as at present, chiefly the exploitation of India's resources by foreign capitalists, or it may mean "the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians," to quote the words of Sir William Clark, the *Government of India* Member for Commerce and Industry in 1916. We do not want the word *Indian* to have the meaning which it bears in the expressions "the *Indian Civil Service*," "the *Indian Educa-*

tional Service," etc. Unless we know definitely and clearly what is meant by the development and expansion of industries in our country, we cannot derive any comfort from what Sir S. P. Sinha has said.

India must, of course, bear her "fair" or unfair share of Empire responsibilities; but under present circumstances there is neither glory, nor profit, nor education of civic character in the bearing of the burden. For the element of voluntary choosing is absent. Therefore our sacrifice is no sacrifice at all. We can neither really agree nor refuse to bear any kind or amount of burden imposed on us. Besides, who is to determine what is our fair share? Some among us may give expression to effusive thankfulness for the fact of our having been considered worthy to bear burdens and the opportunity to do the same. Others may preserve silence. The most "indiscreet" may protest against the imposition of unfair and unjust burdens. It would be superfluous to enter into the *metaphysics* of the thankfulness, the silence and the protests, that is to say, into the question of the unreality and the reality behind these phenomena.

Speaking generally, the other parts of the British Empire have hitherto shown little regard for "the rights and interests of" the people of our country. Therefore, if we had been really free to consider or not to consider the rights and interests of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions along with those of ours, and if we had decided to have regard exclusively for our own interests and rights for a century and a half to come, our white fellow-subjects would have had no just right to complain; for our conduct would have been exactly in accordance with the prevalent worldly maxim, "Do unto others as you *have been* done by." But we presume if we were really given the liberty now to be partly altruistic and partly selfish, our selfishness would not be greater than our altruism to a greater extent than the selfishness of the Christian natives of Europe has been greater than their altruism in America, Africa, Asia and Australasia for centuries past. The pity, however, is that as we are not free agents, we can neither be praised nor blamed for what is done in our name.

The ideal we hold up for our nation is never to return wrong for wrong, and

always to protect one's natural rights by righteous means.

As for "patience and sobriety," we think we have not less of these qualities than other peoples. But as we are not free agents, we cannot unhesitatingly claim these as virtues in our case; for we ourselves are not sure how much of these qualities are the real thing and how much merely the virtue of necessity born of our political condition.

A Joint Manifesto to British Electors.

Some of the points of the manifesto to British electors jointly issued by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law are of interest to Indians. One point is, "The conclusion of a just and lasting peace and so establishing the foundations of a new Europe that further wars may for ever be averted." It would be a great gain to humanity if European nations did not again fight among themselves. But so long as Asia and Africa are considered fit only to be subjugated and plundered by Europeans, or at best, fit only to be "protected" by them, the division of spoils and of territories to be "protected" will give rise to wars, however well the foundations of a new Europe may be laid. Moreover, it is foolish to treat a future Asia and a future Africa as negligible factors. A time there was when Asia conquered the greater part of Europe. Asiatics are lacking neither in valour nor in intelligence. When they have mastered the methods of modern scientific production and industrial organisation and the secrets of scientific killing on a gigantic scale, as they are sure to do in course of time, Europeans would not be able to insult and wrong them in any way with impunity. The fact that Europe has insulted and wronged Asia in the past already rankles in the heart of Asiatics and Africans. Let there be no further insult and injustice. For if there be, it is as sure that there will in consequence be terrible conflicts in the future as night follows day. Let not the West in its pride treat Asiatics (*minus* the Japanese) and Africans as sub-human creatures.

Another point is :—

"It will be the fundamental object of the coalition to promote the unity and development of our Empire and of the nations of which it is composed and to preserve for them the position of influence and authority which they have gained by their sacrifices and efforts in the cause of humanity and liberty."

Is India among these nations ?

Another point is preferential tariff for the colonies. If it be a good thing, why should it not be meant also for India ?

The last point which we shall notice is the "removal of all existing inequalities as between men and women." This is necessary and would be a welcome change. But this is for the United Kingdom alone. So far as the British Empire is concerned, or rather, so far as India, which is practically the whole of the British empire, is concerned, the existing civic and legal inequalities between white man and dark man have also to be removed. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme professes to remove the racial bar but in reality does not.

European Foreign Policy.

More than 60 years ago Prof. F. W. Newman wrote as follows, and it is for Englishmen to see that they are juster now and in future years than they were before.

"Every nation in the world is grasping and unjust in its foreign policy in exact proportion to its power, England not being at all an exception... England has no great European army, and cannot covet and subdue any portion of the European continent. That is no great credit; but in Asia, where she is strong and her neighbours weak, she is as grasping and unjust as Russia, Austria, France, or the U. S..... I think it is not more knowledge, but higher morality, which is the first need of policy on both sides the Atlantic."—F. W. Newman to Dr. Martineau on 10th June, 1856 [From "Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman," London, Kegan Paul, 1909, p. 259].

A South African Indian Hero.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi pays the following tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Kachalia, an Indian gentleman of South Africa :—

It is my mournful duty to bring to public notice another South African Indian whose death has been just cabled to me. He bore the honoured name of Ahmed Mahomed Kachalia. He was for a number of years President of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal. It was during the Passive Resistance campaign that Mr. Kachalia suddenly leapt to fame and acquired among the Indians of South Africa a prestige unequalled by any other Indian. It was on the 31st day of July 1917, under the shadow of a tree in the holy mosque of Pretoria that Mr. Kachalia hurled defiance at the might of General Botha and his Government. Mr. Hoskin had brought a message from the General to be delivered to the great mass meeting that was held in the mosque compound, to the effect that in resisting the Transvaal Government, the Indians were breaking their heads against a stone. Mr. Kachalia was one of the speakers. As I am dictating these few words of humble tribute his voice rings

in my ears. He said, "In the name of Allah I wish to state that though my head may be severed from the trunk I shall never obey the Asiatic Registration Act. I consider it unmanly, and dishonourable to subscribe to a law which virtually reduces me to slavery." And he was among the very few who never flinched through those long and weary eight years of untold sufferings. Mr. Kachalia was by no means, amongst the least of the sufferers. He felt that as a leader his sacrifice should be striking and that he should stop at nothing if thereby the honour of this country might be saved. He reduced himself to poverty. He said good-bye to all the comforts of life to which he was used, and night and day worked for a cause he held sacred. Naturally he acquired a wonderful hold over the Indian community throughout South Africa and his was a name to conjure with amongst them. As may be imagined there were often disputes among Mahomedans and Hindus and other sections of the community. Mr. Kachalia held the scales even between the conflicting interests and every one knew that his decisions would be absolutely just and sound. Mr. Kachalia was practically illiterate. He was a self-made man. But his common sense was of the rarest order. It always stood him in good stead, and he was able to command the confidence and respect of many Europeans who came in contact with him.

May the number of such worthies increase!

Dangers of an Outcast Caste.

Indians are not quite unfamiliar with the dangers of an outcast caste. Caste riots in the Madras Presidency, particularly the Shanar riots of a decade ago, have not passed out of public memory. The rice riots in Japan of August last furnish a more recent example. The Eta, the whilom "untouchables" of Japan, who are butchers and tanners by profession, had much to do with these riots. The *Japan Advertiser* has given the following translation of some comments of the Japanese paper *Chugai Shogyo* on "Eta Rice Riots":

It is common knowledge that the recent rice riots were in great part due to the spirit of insubordination on the part of the eta, or the outcasts. The present number of the eta is about 1,500,000, and they have remarkable influence in various districts of the country. Among them there are even a number of millionaires or those who are treated by the public as respectable gentlemen. But the majority of these outcasts are poor. They live in their own settlements entirely isolated from the other inhabitants of Japan. They are the descendants of foreign immigrants, who settled in this country over one thousand years ago, and for generations they have lived in seclusion in the midst of hatred and contempt of the public. Naturally they inherited from their first ancestors a strong spirit of insubordination against the external world. Besides, they have for generations been butchers, and, in consequence, roughness and brutality have become their racial characteristics. These two elements make the eta a dangerous social class, with tendencies to become a mob whenever some

social crisis arises. In the recent riot, many instances were attributed to the desperate actions taken by the eta, which always took the form of a social rebellion against the rich and socially respected. It is needless to say that they are equal to the other population under the Constitution. Since the Restoration, especially since the promulgation of the Japanese Constitution, all people of Japan have become free and equal. But this view is only legal or theoretical. There are really several social castes in Japan. Indeed, if the Japanese people want to become a civilized, modern and really democratic nation, the destruction of these social castes is the first thing they ought to do. As to the future of the eta, the first and the fundamental thing required is the people's sympathetic mind toward the outcasts. The people must love the eta as they love their own brethren. Secondly, the editor suggests, the present system of their isolated life should be immediately abolished. They should no longer live in settlements. They must come out to the world, live in the world where all other people live, work together with them, and finally mix and be assimilated, so as there are no racial distinctions any more. As a matter of fact, the eta must develop their virtues by their own efforts, but at the same time it is impossible to see them assimilated unless the people abandon the racial prejudices they have held in the past.

"Belief in the justice of might."

The proclamation which Prince Max despatched to Germans abroad before the conclusion of the armistice contains a notable statement: "The victory for which many hoped has not been granted us, but the German people has won a greater victory, for it has conquered itself and its belief in the justice of might." If this declaration be sincere and founded in fact, it is a remarkable conversion of a people from belief in the justice of might to faith in the justice of right. But we doubt whether there has been a sincere conversion. It is not in Germany alone that the belief in the justice of might has prevailed and would seem to be still prevalent. Unfortunately all strong nations appear to believe in the justice of might. It is only weak peoples who really believe in the justice of right. Our *worknig* faith is that one should possess might and use it only for the protection and restoration of right.

"The Pioneer's" Creed.

The *Pioneer* asks: "Do they (Indian Congressmen) seriously think that the British people who are just emerging victorious from the greatest war of the world, are to be coerced into expanding proposals which have been carried up to the very limits of safety?" The question betrays the psychology of the writer.

Evidently if he were the British people, nothing but a successful rebellion on the part of the people of this country would lead to constitutional reform and progress. He believes in the "justice of might" as Prussian Junkers did or still do; whereas we, being a weak people, believe in the justice and might of right. It is strange, however, that the mighty British people also professed, when the war was not yet over, to believe that the said war was for the establishment of right, the liberty of small and weak peoples, democracy, and many other things; and many people thought and still think that the British people were sincere in their profession. What does the *Pioneer* think?

Indian nationalists never proposed to coerce the British people into granting them political rights; Indian revolutionaries no doubt entertained the idea of using physical force. They did not however, ask for rights; their idea was to win independence for themselves. And its impracticability has been demonstrated. Prayer for rights and coercing do not hang together.

The *Pioneer* speaks of the British people emerging victorious out of the war. It forgets in its arrogance that victory was not won by the British people unaided and single-handed. It was a combination of many peoples which has won victory. And the combination included India.

The Seceders' Conference.

"Moderate" papers and speakers have repeatedly told the public the reasons why a certain number of "Moderate" politicians chose to abstain from attending the special congress held at Bombay. These reasons have been discussed threadbare in Home Rule and other papers. We do not think it necessary to take part in and prolong the discussion. Our opinion is that the secession of some "Moderates" was a mistake; it was not indispensably necessary in the interests of the country. It is probable that the seceders will attend the Delhi session of the Congress. A joint session of nationalists of all shades of opinion will certainly be good for the country. Considering the important points of agreement among the Seceders and Congressmen, there is no reason why there should not be a re-union. *The Servant of India*, edited by a leading and very able secessionist, enumerates these points as follows:—

"These differences, however, should not be allowed to obscure the large measure of agreement between the resolutions of the Congress and those of the Conference on certain vital issues. Both parties want the Government of India liberalised. Both parties demand fiscal freedom for India. Both parties ask that the Indian element should form one-half in the executive government of India. Both parties ask that the popular houses should elect their presidents and vice-presidents. Both parties protest against the phrases "good government" and "sound financial administration" in the Viceroy's formula of certification. Both parties require that the elective majority in the legislatures should be four-fifths. Both parties wish the reserved list to be as small and the transferred list as large as possible. Both parties would have ministers placed on a footing of perfect equality with the members of the Executive Council. Both parties ask for a complete separation of the judicial and executive functions and other administrative improvements. Both parties wish the ordinary constitutional rights, such as freedom of the Press and public meetings and open judicial trial safeguarded, though in different ways."

In whatever way the poor attendance of delegates and visitors at the seceders' conference and the absence of enthusiasm which marked its proceedings, be explained, it cannot but be clear to impartial observers that the country is not with the seceders. The majority of educated Indians remain true to the Congress. But though the seceders are in a minority, that does not necessarily mean that they are not in the right. What we say is that they should join the Congress again and reason with those of their countrymen who hold different views.

As for the contention that the weight of experience and of political services rendered to the country remains with the seceders, that cannot be proved by mentioning the names of only a few veterans. Veterans are to be found in the Congress camp, too. Let the organisers of the Conference publish a full list of their delegates, giving names, residence, profession, etc., and also showing how, when and by whom they were elected. Then it will be possible to judge to what extent the country as a whole and the different provinces and districts were represented, and whether, barring the minority of veterans, a large percentage of the bulk of the delegates can be said to represent the best political thought and public spirit of their respective provinces, districts, towns or villages.

Deaths from Flague.

The following compilation of figures has been published in the *Searchlight*:—

The statistical abstract of British India published as

A Parliamentary Paper brings the record down to 1915-16. It shows that the plague is still responsible for a terrible death roll. In British India in 1915 there were 380,501 deaths from plague and 53,365 in the Native Provinces, being an increase of 137,000 on the previous year. In the 20 years ended in 1915 there were 7,557,313 plague deaths in British India and 1,425,043 in the Native States, bringing the total up to 8,982,356.

The figures for 1916, 1917, and 1918 are not before us. In twenty years nine millions died from plague, and another million may have died in the last 35 months, bringing the total up to one crore. On the debit side we in India do things on a gigantic scale.

Sir M. Visweswarayya.

New India mentions a rumour that Sir M. Visweswarayya may be appointed to succeed Sir Prabhashankar Pattani as a Member of the Secretary of State's Council. What has the eminent and up-to-date Dewan of Mysore in common with the sun-dried, antiquated and superannuated Anglo-Indian bureaucrat that he should be translated to India Office to vegetate there with them? He is and may continue to be very useful in Mysore. Indirectly he is doing good to the whole of India, too. In the Secretary of State's Council he would be practically useless, being always in a hopeless minority. He might of course "*influence*" (that is the favourite word now) the Secretary of State's decisions; but the days are gone when Indians cared merely for influencing anybody. They want power to do things in their own way. And in Mysore the Dewan has done many good things and may do a good many more for many years to come. More valuable than any particular thing which he may have done, has been the quickening of public spirit which he has helped greatly to bring about. The splendid work of some Dewans in the Native States not only proves Indian administrative capacity, but also serves as an example for the British Indian provinces to follow. It is to be hoped that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy will not help to remove from the sphere of his splendid and beneficial activities a statesman by comparison with whom they suffer. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore cannot surely spare him.

The Mysore Dewan's Address.

As usual the last annual address of the Dewan to the Mysore Representative As-

sembly is a record of progress in all departments and directions. We can note only a few items. The franchise of the Representative Assembly has been broadened and simplified. The Assembly has also been granted the privilege of interpellation. His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to decide that the Economic Conference organisation should be made permanent.

District and Taluk Conferences.—Conferences were held in every district and taluk during the past year, and also in some *hoblis* on the people's own initiative, and agricultural, industrial and health exhibitions were arranged in connection with many of them. At present, these conferences are organised by the joint exertions of officers and non-officials. There is, however, a growing tendency for non-official gentlemen to come forward and take the initiative. And, in course of time, these district and taluk conferences may be expected to develop into miniature Representative Assemblies for the respective areas and prove valuable adjuncts to local administration.

A school has been opened for the training of Forest Rangers and other subordinates. A valuation survey of sandalwood has been commenced in order to place the exploitation of this valuable product on a scientific basis. Experiments in forest industries, such as the manufacture of paper pulp, straw boards, pencils and matches, continued to receive attention. The fifth installation of the Cauvery Power scheme was completed during the year and the capacity of the generating station increased to 22,650 horse-power. Education in all its stages has made good progress. The scheme of compulsory primary education is in active operation in 68 centres and preliminaries have been completed in 170.

The education of the depressed classes continues to receive attention, an allotment of Rs. 50,000 having been specially earmarked for this purpose. A Panchama Boarding School for Tumkur and a smaller one for Chikmagalur have been sanctioned and measures are being taken to develop the Panchama Boarding School at Mysore into a Central Educational and Technological Institute for Panchamas and other depressed classes.

An attractive scale of pay has been fixed in order to induce lady graduates to enter the teaching profession. 77 travelling libraries, 22 taluk libraries, and 89 rural libraries have been organised.

Progress under the village improvement scheme was fairly satisfactory.

• The number of committees rose from 8,661 to 8,820 which served a population of 47½ lakhs. Five thousand two hundred & thirty-nine committees attended to work of communal benefit and 4,958 subscribed for one or more newspapers. There was a

slight decrease in the cost of work carried out with the aid of Government grants, the aggregate cost being Rs. 1,10,760. Two thousand three hundred and sixty-four miles of cart track were improved by the committees and a sum of Rs. 67,156 was collected for the village common fund against Rs. 31,923 in the previous year. Including the twelve courts newly established, 172 village courts were working at the end of the year. The total number of tank panchayets sanctioned up to the end of 1916-17, was 82 and the constitution of fifteen more was sanctioned during 1917-18. Forty-five blocks measuring 17,330 acres were notified as village forests. Seven new blocks were granted during the year under the Large Landed Estates Scheme. Out of 706 minor tanks that were under restoration during the year, 106 were completed. A sum of Rs. 1,35,722 was spent out of the sanctioned allotment of Rs. 2,44,000.

Progress in the construction of drinking water wells is still unsatisfactory. Only 239 works were completed and a sum of Rs. 69,217 spent during the year. Hand pumps are being installed, as far as possible, to protect wells from contamination.

The whole address deserves to be read. We conclude with quoting what he says on standards.

Standards.—A great deal more yet remains to be done. But no large or rapid progress is possible without definite objectives, well-defined methods of work and an adequate and efficient organization. It is necessary to place some definite standards before the Public, some clearly defined aims for their guidance. As instances of what is meant by standards, I may mention three or four we have had in view, selected at random. One of them is to double the agricultural produce of the country in ten years. Another is to induce every family in the village to lay by enough food grains or money for maintaining the family for a couple of years so that, in times of short rainfall, it may not run the risk of starvation. A third standard aims at doubling the present school-going population in five years. A fourth contemplates increasing the number of persons engaged in industries and trade eventually to 25 per cent of the total population.

The Choice Before Us.

The following extract from the address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mukherji at the Mysore University Convocation contains sound sense :—

Let me ask, then, what course shall we choose while the world all around us is making such gigantic strides in the path of progress, ever seeking to gain mastery over the forces of Nature. We cannot disentangle ourselves, even if we wish, from irresistible world currents and sit on the lovely snowcapped peaks of the Himalayas absorbed in contemplation of our glorious past. It is most emphatically true that the community, the people, the nation, the race which like the Greek philosopher will live in its own tub, and ask the conquering powers around it to move away from its sunshine, will soon be enveloped in eternal darkness, the object of derision for its helplessness and of contempt for its folly. We cannot afford to stand still; we must move or be overwhelmed; we cannot waste precious time and strength in defence of theories and systems which, however valuable in their days, have been swept

away by the irresistible avalanche of world-wide changes. We can live neither in nor by the defeated past, and if we would live in the conquering future, we must dedicate our whole strength to shape its course and our will to discharge its duties. The most pressing question of the hour for the people of every race is, not what they have been hitherto, but what they shall determine to be hereafter, not what their fathers were but what their children shall be. The past is of value, only in so far as it illuminates the present, the present is of value only in so far as it guides us to shape the future. Let us then raise an emphatic protest against all suicidal policy of isolation and stagnation.

Tata Iron and Steel Company.

In moving the adoption of the Directors' Report of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Sir Dorab Tata, the chairman of the company, made an important and informing speech. The year was marked by great productivity, the company's output stood the highest test of quality, and in spite of controlled prices it paid good dividends. But the Company are not satisfied with mere material prosperity. They rightly think that its permanence depends on the welfare of the workers. Therefore,

While straining every nerve to raise the capacity of your works, your Directors have been as anxious to raise the tone and the standard and the comfort of your labour. As I said last year, "the welfare of the labouring classes must be one of the first cares of every employer.....since labour contented, well-housed, well-fed, and generally well looked after, is not only an asset and an advantage to the employer, but serves to raise the standard of industry and labour in the country. In looking after the labour of to-day, we are also securing a supply of healthy and intelligent labour for the future." In accordance with the views then expressed, we have set aside a sum of over two lakhs of rupees in a Sakchi Social Welfare Fund, which, as it grows, will be utilized in a number of directions for promoting the general welfare of your operatives. Apart from that, we are already beginning to provide additional educational facilities; and a large girls' school is almost ready to be opened. The existing hospital, which is utilised not only by your operatives, but even by people from remote villages, has been temporarily extended; while a new hospital building, capable of accommodating three hundred beds, has been designed, and will be soon under construction. A certain amount of sanitary work has already been done, which we trust has considerably improved the health conditions of the place. We have extended equally facilities for recreation. More roads have been laid out, and further quarters built. In fact, we have had to undertake ourselves every kind of municipal work in a population of nearly 50,000 souls, which will increase rapidly even to a lakh and-a-half; and we are trying to do it, methodically and on thoroughly scientific lines, bearing constantly in mind the necessity that will sooner or later arise of developing and fitting all this work into the larger needs of a greater Sakchi in the near future. More than that, we are taking steps to see that amid the famine conditions that threaten the coming year,

your employees will have enough to meet their daily wants and those of their dependants. With the valuable assistance of Mr. A. V. Thakkar, whose services have been kindly lent to us by the Servants of India Society, we have already made arrangements for the purchase and distribution by the Company, at cost price, of grain and other important necessities of life. And we propose to go further still in this work of human welfare, and "organise a number of agencies at Sakchi, which will not only actively promote the health, comfort and happiness of your employees, but will at the same time teach them and help them to help themselves by organised and co-operative effort. Dr. Harold Mann, whose services also have been kindly lent us by the Government of Bombay, is already in Sakchi making investigations in that direction; while a committee consisting of socialists like Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb and Professor Hobhouse and Urwick is sitting in London planning and designing as it were the nature and the details of the welfare work we shall take up. I have every hope that sooner or later Sakchi will not only be a model town, but its organisation a model in this country for labour welfare work.

The proposal to establish a Technological Institute at Sakchi is full of promise for the industrial future of the country. Such an institute is greatly needed.

PROPOSED TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

When I addressed you last year, I referred also to another matter to which your Directors had been giving considerable attention. I referred to the difficulties that we shall experience after the war in securing a supply of skilled labour from Europe or America. We shall not be able, I am afraid, to get it at the rate, and on the terms, we did before the war. The Government of Bihar and Orissa are, therefore, framing a scheme for the establishment, in collaboration with us, of a Technological Institute at Sakchi, so that men may in time be trained in the country for the growing needs of the metallurgical and chemical industries. The urgency of research in, and the application of science to, industry is a subject that no longer needs discussion. And an institute of the kind proposed will not only train our young men for actual operation work, but will at the same time enable us to raise our own men who will exercise the requisite scientific control over future industrial operations, and research workers in addition who will initiate and help us to apply ever improving methods and processes.

IDEAL CONDITIONS AT SAKCHI.

There never has been so big a demonstration and an experimental field for a technological institute so rich and varied and with such diversity in each department of training and research as at Sakchi. Consider for a moment the number and the nature of the subjects it is already interested in, or is about to take up: the manufacture of coke and its by-products: the manufacture of iron and steel; the manufacture of a large and varied number of subsidiary products; the manufacture of copper, of zinc, of alloys, and a number of other miscellaneous products. Then there are a number of chemical industries, actually undertaken, or possible and probable, such as the manufacture of acids, of coal tar products, of fertilizers, of explosives, and numerous similar articles. There is a large Electric Department already at

Sakchi. And electric power is likely to be used more and more from the coal mines which are within reasonable reach. The other mines are nearer still. We have already a big Engineering Department for building, drainage, road-making, water-supply, dam-building, and such other work. Added to all this, there is going to be a big hospital, with all the field of training that a hospital offers. A research laboratory of the Steel Company already exists. There will be an experimental agricultural farm close by. There will be a bank. There will be a social welfare organisation. Attached to all these activities will be a large number of experts in various departments, and on the spot. There would thus be constant association between students and teachers and these experts. And above all there will be the atmosphere of industry without its smoky gloom, and with a large and varied assortment of shops, foundries, factories and works, in daily demonstration. I know of no place in India which combines so many advantages for the location of a Technological Institute, the utility of which would be more than merely local or provincial.

The Industrial Commission has also emphasised the great opportunity that exists at Sakchi for training and research in metallurgical and allied chemical problems. And it is a matter of great satisfaction to us, that though we have been able to set apart as our contribution towards the proposed Institution not more than a lakh of rupees per year, the Commission have suggested a possible Imperial capital expenditure of 16 lakhs of rupees towards it.

The Company proposes to devote increasing attention to the manufacture of machinery and tools required in different industries, in addition to turning out rails, joists, etc. It will thus contribute to make the country increasingly self-contained as regards her industries. But the need of experts and trained workers is among the greatest, if not the greatest of our needs. Unless this is met, we can never hope to rise in the industrial scale. The proposed technological institute ought to go a great way towards removing this want.

An article in the November number of the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* shows what the Company aims at and what it has already accomplished. The following is an extract:—

According to the last annual report, the average number of employees at the works was 10,225 in 1916-17, as against 9,749 in the previous year; of covenanted Europeans there were 93 as against 102, and 51 local Europeans were employed as against 53. The Company are looking forward to the time when none but Indians will be employed by them in India. The process is slow but sure, as the change will be effected by advancing their workmen and apprentices according to the talents in them brought out by a sound technical and practical education. Mr. Tuckwell in his lecture gave some remarkable instances of the success already achieved—results which, by the way, have also been reached in most railway and some private works: in the bar mill three eight-hour shifts, which would require the employment of twenty-seven Europeans, are manned

by a crew of twenty-five Indians who run the plant economically with only two European superintendents; and in other departments similar reductions have been made. The chemical laboratory originally employed five European chemists. Now the chief and assistant are Europeans, the remainder of the staff of twenty-one being Indians. In very many instances Indian workmen have shown themselves possessed of extraordinary skill and manual dexterity, and the electrical department is under the superintendence of an Indian gentleman, a graduate of an English university, assisted by a staff of Indian wiremen and electricians.

The rapidity with which Indianisation of the higher services at the works has hitherto proceeded has not been as great as might be desired. Perhaps in the coming years, under changed conditions, the company will be in a position to accelerate the process.

Industrial Enterprise in Mysore.

The same article from which we have quoted above gives us some idea of mineral industries in Mysore.

A very interesting experiment is being tried in Mysore. The Government of that progressive State have decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace, and have appointed Mr. Perin as their consulting engineer. He has placed orders for the equipment in America, and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kadur and Shimoga, and convert it into charcoal at Benkipur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty-five miles, and a high-grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime, alcohol and other by-products be extracted, calcium carbide may also be manufactured, with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces.

"Mobilization of India's Agricultural Resources."

The following passages have been reproduced from the London *Times* in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Express*:

If, then, there is reason to anticipate a world-scarcity of food—a question which can be decided with authority only by the War Cabinet—and if there are prospects that the food can be carried to the hungry, or even that the hungry can be carried to the food, the mobilization of India's agricultural resources must be directed by the Governments of the country, and not left to individual enterprise. Some tentative measures in this direction have already been taken but their effect is likely to be local and if the need is found to be real and urgent, more general and drastic action will be required; the area of the industrial crops must be curtailed and ten, twenty or even thirty million acres diverted to the production of food. On the average about three acres will yield a ton, so that given favourable seasons, the surplus of food which India sends to Europe, could for a single year be doubled or even trebled at the cost of curtailing the supply of important raw materials and of forcing

Asia to wear old clothes in order that Europe may not starve.

Such an undertaking would be of enormous magnitude, and every one must hope that the necessity for it will not arise, but it is quite within the competence of the existing land administration, which works so quietly that Englishmen are apt to forget that, though not perfect, it is probably the most efficient piece of human machinery in the world. The one thing essential is that the orders should be issued in time. Once the annual rains have started, the peasant must work; his time for thinking and planning is then over, and interference from above might do almost as much harm as good. If, however, plain orders are issued in the spring and measures are taken to ensure an adequate supply of seed and capital, the result would be seen in increased supplies of maize, millets and pulses coming forward in the following autumn, and of wheat, gram and barley a few months later, in time to reach Europe at the critical period when it is waiting for the northern harvests to begin.

A word of warning must be offered by way of conclusion. If the War Cabinet should unhappily be driven to the decision that India's peasants must be mobilized* in the interests of the world's† food, the operation must be so conducted as to afford no scope for a cry of exploitation. The peasant will be asked‡ to sacrifice his independence; that sacrifice ought to suffice, and he should not be required to undertake increased financial liability. In other words, the curtailment of industrial crops must be accompanied by a guarantee of minimum prices for food-grains sufficient to ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser and that politicians or agitators shall be given no grounds for a charge that India is paying dearly to provide Europe's food. Given this condition it is not unreasonable that the area which is already a reserve against scarcity of food in India should be claimed in the interests of that civilization in whose benefits India shares.

In the expression "world-scarcity of food" the word "world" means Europe—Asia does not count. That the food can be carried to the hungry is evident from the large exports of grain from India even in normal times. But what does the carrying of the hungry to the food mean? We know that a certain number of appointments in the higher police service in India are going to be given to British military officers *disabled* in the war. That is a case of carrying the hungry to the food. For there is not the least doubt that India can furnish from the ranks of her own children able police officers. So it is not that India wants these men; it is these hungry persons who want here food. They are, however, not many. If there be a food scarcity in the "world," that is to say in Europe or more particularly in England, a far larger number of the hungry must be brought to the food here. Is that one of the reasons why Mr. Addison stated

* Means *enslaved*; † means *Europe's*; ‡ means *forced*, Ed., M. R.

in the House of Commons on the 13th November that

A scheme has been prepared for giving special facilities to ex-service men with regard to land settlement. The Government has accepted the general principle that from the beginning of demobilisation and for a year thereafter, permanent civil service appointments should be preserved for ex-officers and ex-soldiers.

It is entirely false to say that either in famine years or in normal years "India sends to Europe" her "surplus of food." The stock of food which is exported from India to Europe is not the surplus left after feeding her 315 millions. Many Englishmen holding high office in India have said that millions upon millions of Indians never know what it is to have a full meal. They have been quoted so often that we need not quote them again. Sir John Woodroffe, who is not a politician and who repeatedly says in his latest book "*Is India Civilised?*" that it is not his intention to write politics, says in that work that the deaths from plague, &c., are so large because of lack of sufficient food. Sir S. P. Sinha, who, it may be concluded from his selection again and again to discharge most onerous imperial duties, enjoys in a special degree the confidence of the Government, said at a recent conference at the Overseas Press Centre in London: "Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things." In the July (1918) number of the *Edinburgh Review* Mr. J. O. P. Bland writes with reference to child mortality in India that "the average of human lives that are wasted annually (in India) is about 7,000,000. They are brought recklessly in a land that cannot feed them." If all the food produced in India could be kept in the country there would be less chronic hunger and starvation, resulting in untimely death, in the country. But politically and economically she is not in a position to resist such drain of food to countries which are politically and economically more powerful. Mr. Bland writes:

"The agricultural production of Great Britain cannot suffice to maintain its present population; who shall say that fifty years hence we shall be able to draw supplies from India and Russia, as we do to-day, incidentally helping to impose an abnormally high infant mortality on those countries? And who shall say that the social organisation on which the

empire rests will endure even for that period the present stress and strain of economic pressure?"

It is absurd, then, to talk of India's surplus food. We have no objection to feed the hungry of other countries. But are we not to be allowed to do it willingly after feeding our own children?

Christianity teaches the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. Christians believe that the Asiatic prophet Jesus died in order that sinners might live;—and it now appears that he died in order particularly that white-complexioned sinners might live. It is, therefore, quite fitting and in harmony with the teachings of this religion of Asiatic origin that Asiatics should be forced "[only!] to wear old clothes (not to die!) in order that Europe may not starve", and that the Asiatic peasant of India should be "asked to sacrifice his independence; that sacrifice ought to suffice, and he should not be asked to undertake increased financial liability." Who will now say that Christ died in vain? Have not his followers in Printing House Square thoroughly learnt the lesson of vicarious sacrifice?

Reciprocity is a good old rule. "Do unto others as you would be done by." Did Europe ever wear old clothes in order that Asia might not starve? Or would Europe brook the idea of ever being forced to wear old clothes in order that Asia might not starve? Is Asia to understand that the first practical lesson derived by a foremost journal in Europe from the world-war, ostensibly fought for freedom, that Asia is to be deprived of her sartorial freedom and forced to wear old clothes? And the *Times* wrote all this stuff when the war was still going on.

As for India, millions of her children have not got even old clothes to wear. Some of her daughters have committed suicide because they had not even rags to cover their shame.

The limit of cultivation in Great Britain and Ireland and some other European countries and in America, has not yet been reached. Why does not the *Times* advise his countrymen to stop for a time some mills and factories, and turn the mill-hands and factory-labourers into field-labourers? The stoppage of these money-making machines would, no doubt, mean some pecuniary loss to the nation, but it would mean more food, too. Why does not the *Times* propose to force America

to grow less cotton and more food for Europe? As Britishers and Americans are Christians and therefore more spiritually-minded and self-sacrificing than the heathen of Asia, they ought to very cheerfully agree to be forced to undergo sacrifice. And when these Christian nations have set the example of being cheerfully forced to do something for their Christian fellow-creatures, the heathen of Asia may the more readily follow that example.

"Industrial crops must be curtailed", and "the curtailment of industrial crops must be accompanied by a guarantee of minimum prices of food-grains sufficient to ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser." But who will fix this fair or minimum price? Not the peasants. They are too weak, ignorant and unorganised to protect their own interests. The minimum price would be fixed either by the white buyer or by the white ruler. That the white buyer will not pay a minimum price equal to the price of industrial crops, goes without saying. When the Asiatic can be forced, why need he be paid a fair price? Did indigo cultivation cease in Bengal in spite of the planters giving the peasants a fair minimum price for the indigo plant which he was forced to grow? As for the rulers of India, they did not fix a minimum price for jute to save jute-growers from loss and suffering, though jute mills were making extra millions. This recent experience shows that the rulers also are not likely to fix such a minimum price as would "ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser." So the "word of warning" "offered by way of conclusion" has been uttered simply and only to "ensure.... that politicians or agitators shall be given no grounds for a charge that India is paying dearly to provide Europe's food."

From before and during the recent war, Japan has been encroaching upon the cloth market of India; and Japan depends for a large portion of her supply of raw cotton on India. If India could be made to grow less cotton for some years, the textile industry of Japan could be kept partly crippled as long as it might be necessary for Lancashire to rejuvenate her textile industry and recover lost ground in the Indian market. Whether intended or not, that may be one of the "by-products" of the "mobilization of India's agricultural resources." Similar consequences may result from decrease in the production of

other industrial crops. But as the wearing of old clothes has been specially mentioned, the cotton crop is particularly meant.

The peasant will be asked to sacrifice his independence; "that sacrifice ought to suffice, and he should not be required to undertake increased financial liability." How very humane! And how naive! The peasant will be asked (not forced) to sacrifice *only* his independence. Independence is a trifle when it is only an Asiatic's independence. But when it is a white-man's independence, why, it is more precious than life itself.

The sanctimonious plea has been trotted out that India must sacrifice her independence in the interests of a civilisation in whose benefits she shares. That India does share to some extent in the benefits of western civilisation we do not deny; but that she suffers from its evils, too, cannot also be denied. And it is a moot question whether the evils outweigh the benefits. What compensation does she receive for suffering from the evils? But leaving these questions aside, are there not other countries which share in the benefits of occidental civilisation to a far greater extent than India? Why are they not to undergo vicarious sacrifice? Because they cannot be forced?

Allies' War Aims in the East.

Reuter has cabled the following joint declaration of the British and French Governments:—

"The end that France and Britain contemplate pursuing in the East that was enchained by German ambition is the complete definitive freeing of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations. In order to give effect to these intentions France and Britain have agreed to encourage and assist the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now freed by the Allies, and in the territories whose liberation they seek, and to recognise them as soon as they are effectively established. Far from wishing to impose institutions on populations of these regions their only care is to assure by their support and efficacious assistance the normal working of the governments and administrations which they shall freely give themselves. To assure impartial and equal justice for all, to facilitate the economic development of the country by sustaining and encouraging local initiative, to encourage the spread of education, to end divisions too long exploited by Turkish policy—such is the role that the two Allied Governments claim in the liberated territories."

It ought now to be perfectly clear that the reason why "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations" has not been among the aims of the Allies in India, Burma and Ceylon, is that these countries are not situated in the part of "the East that was enchained by German ambition" and "so long oppressed by the Turks," but have been, on the contrary, under "the benevolent despotism" of the British people. That is also the reason why in Mesopotamia and Syria, but not in India, Burma and Ceylon, the Allies are "far from wishing to impose institutions on populations of these regions"; "their only care is to assure by their support and efficacious assistance the normal working of the governments and administrations which they shall freely give themselves."

So curses do sometimes turn into blessings; and vice versa.

Influenza in the Punjab.

An Associated Press telegram informs the public that "it is estimated that the average number of deaths resulting from influenza in the Punjab ranged from five to ten per cent. of the population in rural areas. One village of only 6000 inhabitants reported no less than 900 deaths in a month." "Altogether it is not considered an exaggeration to place the number of deaths in the province from this epidemic at a figure of a quarter of a million." This is a most terrible death-roll.

The Punjab has been among the worst sufferers from the plague. And now influenza has taken an appalling toll. There must be some reason why this province suffers so much. Is it poverty and consequent mal-nutrition? Yet this province, Sir Michael O'Dwyer boasted, supplied the larger part of the wheat exported abroad. May it after all be that it was not the surplus food-stock that has all along been exported, but part of the food which the people required for their own use but could not keep because of economic and political incapacity?

Indian Industrial Commission Report.

The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission is an important document. It contains much useful information and many valuable suggestions and recom-

mendations. But so far as we have been able to gather from a cursory examination of its contents, it contains no recommendations and suggests no safeguards which can ensure "the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians," which, according to the Hon'ble Sir William Clark, late Member for Commerce and Industry in the Viceroy's Executive Council, is "the special object which we all have in view." In the Note by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appended to the Report, which from the Indian point of view is the most valuable part of the volume, the Pandit points out that Sir William Clark emphasised that it was of immense importance alike to India herself and to the Empire as a whole, that Indians should take a larger share in the industrial development of their country. He deprecated the taking of any step, if it might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries."

The Pandit has done well to correct the wrong impression calculated to be produced by the Report that India has all along been for the most part an agricultural country, and that for the decay of what industries she formerly possessed and for the absence of sufficient industrial enterprise in the country at the present time, her children alone have been to blame. He has shown elaborately and conclusively how much the British people and the Government established by them in this country had done to bring about the ruin of our industries and what also it has omitted to do to promote industrial development. He has also shown to what a great extent England is indebted to her connection with India for her industrial growth and prosperity. The concluding paragraph of this portion of his Note runs as follows:

I have dwelt at length upon these facts to remind my English fellow-subjects how largely England is indebted for her "industrial efficiency" and prosperity to her connection with India, and how grave an economic wrong has been done to India by the policy pursued in the past, with the object that this should induce them the more to advocate and insist upon a truly liberal policy towards India in the future. I have also done this to dispel the idea that Indians are to blame for the decline of their indigenous industries, or that they suffer from an inherent want of capacity for industrial development on modern lines, and that Europeans are by nature

more fitted than Asiatics for success in manufacturing pursuits. I have shown that up to the middle of the eighteenth century England herself was an agricultural country; that for thousands of years and up to the beginning of the last century India excelled in manufactures as well as in agriculture, and that if during the century she came to be predominantly agricultural, this was due to the special treatment to which she had been subjected and not to any want of industrial capacity and enterprise among her people.

In the introductory chapter of their Report the commissioners say:—

"In deference to the wishes of witnesses or from other considerations, it was considered advisable to treat as confidential some of the matters brought before us, and we have accordingly prepared one volume of confidential evidence, which will not be available to the general public."

This decision is correct, if the confidential evidence contains state secrets and trade secrets. But if the volume contains any evidence to show how Government departments have directly and indirectly discriminated in favour of European concerns and against Indian firms, such evidence should not have been classed as confidential. Trade secrets, again, should be available neither to the general public nor to European exploiters. But there is reason to fear that the latter may have private access to these secrets. The commissioners also say that "in view of the fact that the Commission was freely admitted to inspect industrial concerns, and that information, often of a confidential nature, was placed at our disposal on these occasions, our inspection notes also will not be published." That is also right. But may it be hoped that European exploiters will not have secret access to some of these inspection notes?

In the introductory chapter it is said:

... Although much information of technical and industrial value will be found in the evidence of some of the expert witnesses, our report is not intended as an industrial survey of India, and we have, therefore, concentrated our attention on the machinery which we propose should be set up to effect industrial development generally, rather than on the particular industries to be improved."

We agree with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in thinking that they "have concentrated too much attention on the machinery which has been proposed,

and yet, I fear that, excepting the provincial and imperial Departments of Industries, the machinery proposed will not promote industrial development as rapidly as the circumstances of the situation require. The scientific and technical services which they recommend will, on their own showing, take some time to organise, the industrial researches which

they wish to promote, will take some time to bear fruit. In my opinion the immediate requirements of the country in the matter of industrial development, require the adoption of measures which will bear fruit more speedily.

There are two classes of industrial enterprises which can be taken up in this country. The first class, and this is by far the larger class, consists of those which can be started by the importation of machinery and experts as first managers. In this class of work we have to imitate and not to initiate. As soon as the provincial Departments of Industries, with their Advisory Boards, have been constituted in the provinces, they should decide, with such expert advice as may be necessary, what industries of this class can be started within the province, and should invite and encourage Indian capitalists by information and technical assistance to organise them. It was the adoption of such a course that enabled Germany and Japan to achieve rapid industrial development. Sir Frederick Nicholson urged the adoption of this course on us in the following passage in his note:—

"On the whole, then, I consider that the best way both for starting selected industries in India and for training the future managers is after the fashion of Germany and Japan and other countries, for the promoters, whether Government or private, to draw liberally on Great Britain, etc., for real experts as first managers of any projected industries; then to select young men, preferably men already trained in technological institutions, and to put them through close disciplined, industrial and business training under these experts till they are fitted either to start on their own account or as reliable business managers to capitalists."—(Minutes of Evidence, Vol. III, pages 396-397.)

Mr. Charles Tower also says:—

"In the manufacture of steel ware and of machinery, Germany is usually credited, not without justice, with being rather an imitator than an initiator. Her great success in this line has been achieved by the rapidly with which Germany had adopted the improvements invented elsewhere."—(*Germany of to-day*, Home University Library, page 173.)

This is also the course which was adopted by America. Up to 1860 America had made little progress in developing the manufacture of steel. In 1862 Park Brothers and Company imported the biggest crucible steel plant of all up to that time, and imported also several hundred English workmen to ensure success. Since then the progress of the steel industry there has been phenomenal. In 1860 the output of pig iron in the States was only 0.8 million tons, and of steel nil: by 1900 America was producing 13.7 millions of tons of pig iron and 10.1 of steel, and in 1913 while the production of pig iron amounted to 10.3 million tons in the United Kingdom, it amounted to 31 million tons in the United States. Last but not least, we have an eloquent illustration in India itself of the soundness of this policy in the success of the Tata Iron and Steel Works. The works were organised with the advice, and have carried on under the supervision of the best experts imported from abroad, and they have been a conspicuous success. This, therefore, is the right policy which should be followed in regard to the many other industries the need for which has been pointed out in our chapter on the industrial deficiencies of India. Raw materials and labour abound, capital exists and only wants organising, the home market is extensive, the machinery and the expert can be imported, the profits to the Government and the people

will be considerable : all that is needed is that the Government should whole-heartedly lead and assist Indian capital in organising the industries.

Should the policy suggested in the above extracts be followed by the Government and Indian capitalists, as undoubtedly it ought to be, safeguards should be adopted in several directions. They have been indicated, as pointed out in the Pandit's Note, by Mr. H. P. Gibbs, the General Manager of the Tata Hydro-Electric Supply Company, in his written evidence before the Commission :

"No man should be imported into India unless he is a recognised expert in his particular line. He too should be engaged on short-time contract and made to understand he is being engaged and paid to teach our local men just as much as to introduce and carry on his work. The young man from abroad who is educated but inexperienced should not be brought to India and allowed to get his practice here."

And yet the Imperial officers recommended to be appointed by the Commission would be practically foreign young men brought out to India to get their practice here, as we propose to show hereafter.

We are entirely and absolutely opposed to the creation of any new imperial service or services manned by foreigners. The commissioners may intend, as they have recommended, that these services should be ultimately manned by Indians. But once a vested interest has been created, it would be practically impossible, unless a revolution takes place, which is improbably to dislodge the foreigners from their berths. We are not arguing against taking the assistance of foreign experts and skilled workmen ; that is for the present indispensable and would remain so for some years to come. But what we urge is that whoever is brought out from abroad in any capacity should be brought under the conditions mentioned by Mr. H. P. Gibbs. It is better that industrial development were delayed by a decade, during which promising Indian young men could receive sufficient training in the country or abroad, than that practically permanent and fat berths should be created for a number of foreigners. We do not want any more exploitation by them.

Moreover, so long as industrial development in the country remains entirely under the control and guidance of foreign officers, foreign capitalists are sure to be unduly favoured at the expense of Indian capital-

ists. This should be prevented from the start.

It may be objected that this is mere destructive criticism, and that a constructive scheme should be produced showing how our young men can be trained for the imperial and provincial services. There may be other alternative schemes, but the one proposed by Pandit Malaviya is quite serviceable. Says he :

I am therefore not opposed to the idea of creating an Indian Chemical Service and an Imperial Industrial Service at the right time and under the right conditions. But I regret I do not agree with my colleagues as to the time when, and the conditions under which, these services should be organised. In my opinion our first duty is to create the material for these services in this country. One important means of doing this is the starting of industries, as I have urged above, under imported experts and placing our select young men, already trained in technological institutions, under them. The other measures which in my opinion are needed are :—

(i) that steps should be immediately taken for developing the teaching of science and technology in our existing Universities and other collegiate institutions, (a) by strengthening their staff and equipment, and (b) by awarding a sufficiently large number of scholarships to encourage the study of science and technology at our schools, our colleges and our Universities ;

(ii) that an Imperial Polytechnic Institute, manned by the most distinguished scientists and engineers, whose co-operation we can secure, should be established in the country, for imparting the highest instruction and training in science and technology ; and

(iii) that the provision of scholarships for study in foreign countries should be largely increased to enable the most distinguished of our graduates to finish their education in the best of foreign institutions.

RECRUITMENT OF SCIENTIFIC SERVICES.

Let us now see how the Commissioners propose to recruit the scientific and other imperial services. They recommend that "to the utmost extent possible the junior appointments should be made from science graduates of the Indian universities, and that the senior and experienced men who will be required to initiate and direct research work should be obtained on special terms from England; *when such are not available here.*" Pandit Malaviya says that the clause italicised above must be appreciated at its practical value. He observes :—

My colleagues recognise that a "relatively small field of selection at present exists in India." They say :—

"As development of science teaching at the Universities proceeds and opportunities for technical training in India increase, we believe that the necessity for importing specialists will greatly diminish, and that

ultimately the services will be mainly filled with officers trained in this country."

But they say further on that "it will be some years before it will be possible to obtain the full necessary staff in India."

They therefore rely for such recruitment mainly on England. But they recognise that—

"there will be similar post-war demands made at home and in the Dominions for scientific, especially chemical, experts, which will render it difficult to obtain suitable recruits from England. It is probable, consequently, that salaries higher than the pre-war rates will be demanded by suitably qualified experts."

But I think that qualified English experts will not be available, at any rate in any number, for some years even for higher salaries than those of the pre-war period. The Committee of the Privy Council said in their Report for 1915-16 :—

"It is in our view certain that the number of trained research workers who will be available at the end of the war will not suffice for the demand that we hope will then exist. We are too apt to forget in this country that with industry as with war, a brilliant group of field officers, and even a well-organised general staff, need armies of well-trained men in order to produce satisfactory results."

In view of these facts, it will be wise not to rely upon being able to indent on England for the "senior and experienced men who will be required to initiate and direct research work" in India. Besides, though the commissioners advocate that "senior and experienced men" should be obtained from England, they actually propose quite the opposite course. They propose that "recruits for these services—especially chemical services—should be obtained at as early an age as possible, preferably not exceeding 25 years." The Pandit observes :

They leave no room for doubt as to what they mean. They say :—

"We should thus secure the University graduate, who had done one or perhaps two years' post-graduate work, whether scientific or practical, but would not yet be confirmed in specialisation. We assume that the requisite degree of specialisation will be secured by adopting a system whereby study leave will be granted at some suitable time after three years' service, when a scientific officer should have developed a distinct bent."

In their recommendations regarding the recruitment of the Imperial Industrial Service also, they say that "the age of recruitment should not usually exceed 25 years," and that they think it desirable, "if the young engineers whom we propose to recruit are to develop into valuable men, that they should be encouraged after about three years' service to take study leave." It is obvious then that under the scheme proposed by my colleagues the men to be recruited from England will not be "senior and experienced men" but raw graduates from Universities who will be expected to specialise after joining the service in India. Specialisation almost always involves delay. If therefore we must take in only raw graduates and remunerate them during the years they are qualifying themselves for effective research work, I think it is very desirable that we

should take in Indian graduates whose training will be less costly, and who will serve the country throughout life, whereas in the case of an English graduate, there will always be the apprehension that he may leave us for higher emoluments elsewhere and the certainty that he will leave the country after the period necessary to qualify for a pension, taking away with him the knowledge and experience which he had gained in its service. Having regard to all the considerations which have been urged above, I think the idea of recruiting this service from England should be abandoned, and that it should be decided that it shall be recruited entirely from among graduates of the Indian Universities and of the Imperial Polytechnic Institute, which I have recommended.

To what the Pandit has so ably and rightly said above we would only add that Indians who have obtained the requisite degrees or other equivalent qualifications at foreign universities and higher polytechnic institutes should also be considered eligible for these services.

It may be incidentally observed that so far as the chemical services are concerned, there is no reason why raw graduates of British universities should be preferred to Indian graduates who have done post-graduate research work under Dr. P. C. Ray in Calcutta and Dr. Watson in Dacca. These Indian graduates have proved the high quality of their training by contributing original papers, based on their research work, to various recognised chemical journals. Some of them have easily obtained the doctor's degree of London and Edinburgh.

The Professed Object and the Actual Result.

The commissioners say that the ultimate object should be to man the services they propose with officers trained in this country. Pandit Malaviya has had no difficulty in showing that, though in relation to certain other imperial services, too, a similar object was professed, they have remained practically a close preserve for foreigners. Let us follow him department by department. He first makes a general observation.

"Indians have a very sore feeling about the imperial Indian services. The importation of experts from England for these services has not only unnecessarily increased the cost of these services to India, but has had the very great disadvantage of preventing Indians from being trained for higher work in these services. We can never forget that so distinguished an Indian as Dr. P. C. Ray did not find admission into the Indian Educational Service."

He then takes the case of the Geological Survey of India.

We know that though the Geological Survey of India has been in existence for 64 years, up to 1913 only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service in it. In this connection I put the following question to Dr. H. H. Hayden, Director of the Geological Survey of India :—

"Has the department kept it as an object before it that it should train Indians to qualify themselves for employment in the higher grades of the department?"

And his answer was :—

"We have been for many years training men in the subordinate ranks of the department, but they do not necessarily qualify for appointments in the higher grade. It is always open to them to apply for an appointment in that grade . . ."

My Hon'ble colleague Mr. Low then asked Dr. Hayden :—

"You have these research scholars. Is it not one of the objects of research scholarships, that the scholars, if possible, should qualify themselves for recruitment to the department?"

And the answer was :—

"That is one of the objects of the efforts we have made in educating them in geology in the Presidency College and the Calcutta University. I think geological education was initiated in Calcutta by the Geological Survey. We have had more Indians in the subordinate branch of the service."

The Indian witnesses before the Royal Commission quoted the opinion of Dr. Oldham, the first head of the Geological Department, concerning the fitness of Indians for this department, which showed that he had "the most unshaken confidence that with even fair opportunities of acquiring such knowledge (that of the physical sciences) many Indians would be found quite competent to take their place side by side with European assistants either on this survey or in many other ways," and yet the evidence before the Royal Commission showed that competent Indians had found the door of admission barred against them and that up to 1913, only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service.

Then comes the Agricultural Department. The Pandit says :

My colleagues say that the ultimate object should be to man the services they propose with officers trained in this country. Similar language was used in the past in relation to other imperial departments. For instance, it appears that in the Agricultural Department the intention of the Government of India from the very commencement was that it should be staffed largely by Indians.

"We adhere firmly," wrote the Government of India to the Secretary of State in 1910, "to our frequently declared policy that the service (the Agricultural service) should be manned ultimately by Indians and that the object to be kept steadily in view is to reduce to a minimum the number of experts appointed from England and to train up indigenous talent so as to enable the country to depend on its own resources for the recruitment of its agricultural staff in the higher branches."

But in spite of this clear declaration, the Imperial Service has become the monopoly of Europeans, while Indians have been confined to the Provincial Service. The evidence of Dr. Harold Mann and of the representative members of the Provincial Service before the Royal Commission showed that many highly qualified Indians, several of whom possessed European degrees or experience, had been unable to find admission into the Imperial Service,

which had been manned by recruits imported from Europe, who, said Dr. Mann, laboured under the serious disadvantage that their experience related to a system of agriculture, "which in its organization is quite foreign to most parts of India and will be for a long time to come."

So also with regard to the Imperial Forest Service.

The Inspector General of Forests stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission that

".....when the Forest Department was instituted, and for a long time afterwards, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State expressed the opinion that it was a special department in which the service of Indians should be utilised as largely as possible."

Yet from 1891 to 1906 no steps were taken to provide for direct recruitment to the Provincial service, and it was laid down in 1912 that candidates for the Imperial Forest Service "must have obtained a degree with honours in some branch of natural science in a University of England, Wales or Ireland, or the B. Sc. degree in pure science in one of the Universities of Scotland." At the time the Royal Commission took evidence, the total number of officers in the superior service in the Agricultural, Civil Veterinary, Forest, Geological Survey, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments was 407. Of these only six officers were statutory natives of India!

Pandit Malaviya winds up with some general observations.

The Royal Commission recognised the injustice that has been done to Indians in their practical exclusion from the scientific and technical services. They expressed the opinion that there were no political grounds whatsoever for recruiting the superior staff of such services in Europe. They stated that if the requisite technical training were available in India, the necessity for indenting on Europe for qualified men would cease to exist, and they therefore recommended that "a determined and immediate effort" should be made to bring about conditions which would soon make it possible to meet the normal requirements of the services without requisitioning the services of men from abroad. That effort remains yet to be made; and while my colleagues have proposed the creation of two more Imperial services they have recommended that the establishment of the Central Chemical Research Institute and of the Imperial Engineering College may wait for an indefinite future. [That is quite characteristic!—Ed., M. R.] These facts, coupled with the experience of the past, make me apprehend that, if these two services are created on the lines suggested by my colleagues, the senior appointments in them also will for a long time remain practically the monopoly of Europeans, and that Indians will not only be kept out of their emoluments, but also of the opportunities for acquiring high efficiency in the subjects with which the services will be concerned. The Royal Commission recommended that with a view to bring about the conditions which would soon make it possible to meet the normal requirements of the services without requisitioning the services of men from outside, existing institutions should be developed or new ones created and brought up to the level of the best European institutions of a similar character. They recognised "that this would re-

quire an initial expenditure of a considerable sum of money," but they urged that "the outlay would be more than repaid, not only by the additional facilities which such institutions would give to young men to qualify themselves for direct appointment to the higher branches of the public services, but by the contribution they would make to the industrial progress of the country." These recommendations lend strong support to my proposal that a first-class Polytechnic Institute should be established in India as one of the first measures needed for the industrial development of the country. At such an institute provision should be made for imparting the highest instruction and training in all the important branches of science and technology, and also in commerce and administration. This will be the best means of creating the army of trained workers which is needed for promoting industrial development in this extensive empire. The institution of the proposed services should wait until this has been done. And in the meantime only such appointments should be made in the Departments of Industries as it is absolutely necessary to fill.

Exactly. And we would add that if the persons who are selected to fill these absolutely necessary appointments be foreigners, they should be brought out under contracts for 3 or 5 years, renewable, if necessary, for a further similar period or periods. They may be brought out from America, the United Kingdom, or the Dominions.

Mining, Metallurgy, Mineral and Metal Works.

It was of the utmost importance for the Industrial Commission to make recommendations to ensure that India be not despoiled of her mineral wealth by foreign capitalists, but the commission has made no such recommendations. And even the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has omitted to make any. And yet if India is not to be permanently impoverished, it is absolutely necessary that her mineral resources should be exploited only by Indians, or by the Government of India when under Indian control. If for any reason Indians be not now in a position to exploit the mineral resources of the country, or if there be no immediate prospect of the Government of India being subject to Indian control, it is necessary that our mines should remain unworked to the extent and for the period of time that may be necessary; for most animal and vegetable resources may be renewed by human endeavour, but not mineral resources when once exhausted. This will be characterised by Anglo-Indians and foreign capitalists as extremism run mad. But it is nothing but justice pure and

simple. And we proceed to show how and why. Before we do so we acknowledge with gratitude our indebtedness to the paper on mining, metallurgy, mineral and metal works, which the late Hon. Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi, B.A., submitted to the Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares in December, 1905.

In all industries concerned with minerals,

the supply of the raw material is a natural supply existing independently of human intervention. Further, it is a supply incapable of augmentation or replenishment by human effort. It is a *limited* treasure, hidden under-ground, and is in the nature of God's gift to the country where it lies, and belongs of right to the people of that country and to no one else. No doubt, in India, technically and in law, the States own the minerals as it owns the forests, except in permanently settled tracts, but such ownership can never be absolute. It is a trust held on behalf of the people and to be administered for their benefit. And in this view of the matter, it would appear that the mines should be in the hands of the people whose property they are, and to be worked by them, and ought on no account to be suffered to pass into the hands of outsiders. And when—and as long as—the people are not for any reason in a position to take them over, they should be held by the Crown in trust and worked as crown mines for them. In some of the Native States the most valuable of the mines were held as the Raja's property and managed as such."

After saying what ought to be done with mines Mr. Joshi described the actual state of things.

Most of these mines are leased to foreign companies. They hold and work them; we the people of the country get only a small royalty for the state and wages.....for the labour employed. We have absolutely no further share in their working or management. The business experience and the invaluable training all go to the foreign Syndicates. Besides, as the mines are worked, and to the extent they are worked, they are exhausted, and such exhaustion is a permanent loss to the country which can never be recouped. An exhausted coal-mine or a worked out petroleum field is an irreparable loss. Take again the ruby mines in Burma: the supply of gems is not an inexhaustible supply, and when it comes to an end, part of the nation's hidden treasure is gone, and absolutely, never to be replenished; foreign enterprise is the only gainer. Nor, again, does the existing system bring us any moral advantage. The business is all administered by outsiders in all its main departments. We are not associated with any, and the exclusive arrangement which shuts us out from all participation in the higher advantages of business discipline falls naturally to promote amongst us a spirit of enterprise. 328 prospecting licenses were issued during the years 1888–1903,—129 in Burma, 82 in the Madras Presidency, 64 in the Central Provinces, and the rest elsewhere. Of these, 64 were for search for gold, 48 for petroleum, 36 for manganese ore, 26 for graphite and plumbago, &c. But excepting Mr. Tata's in the Central Provinces, we doubt if half a dozen of these 328 prospecting licenses are held by Indians. They are for the

most part in the hands of the foreign exploiters. Such is the cramping paralysing effect of the existing system of exclusive foreign exploitation on indigenous enterprise in this matter of mining."

Figures like the above should be compiled and published every year by the Industrial Conference office and sent to all indigenous newspapers.

Economically speaking nothing can be less satisfactory than the way in which our mineral resources are exploited. Mr. Joshi observes :—

"In the case of this mining industry, the development of the country's resources has a meaning and a reality, when the minerals mined out go to the people and are added to their standing working reserve of wealth, and when further, such development has the effect of encouraging and stimulating their enterprise in the process. But when neither is the case, it is no economic development proper, but one of the worst forms of exploitation conceivable. And under such circumstances, every ounce of gold, every ton of coal, every gallon of mineral oil, every gem mined out which leaves the country—is a dead loss and without an equivalent.

This is not the view of Mr. Joshi or of his patriotic countrymen alone. In commenting upon Lord Curzon's important speech at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce dinner (February 18, 1903), the *Statesman and Friend of India* expressed similar views with great clearness, thus :—

"In the case of the mining industry, for instance, it (i.e., the development of the country's resources by English capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired laborer's share of the wealth extracted, but that the exploitation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame rests largely with them, we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion, mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist, of wealth which can never, as in the case of agriculture, be reproduced. It is, in short, no mere foolish delusion, but an unquestionable economic truth, that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, implies permanent loss."

Returning to the subject a few days later, the *Statesman* wrote (March 5, 1903):

"As we said in a previous article, the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalist stands on a different footing; for in this case, the wealth extracted is not reproduced, and, on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people of the country, for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit. Even in this case, however, it must not be supposed that the people of the country reap no benefit whatever from the exploitation,

They lose a valuable asset, in the shape of potential profit on capital, it is true; but they receive a greater or smaller quota of the value of the mineral wealth extracted, in other forms such as wages and royalties. In some cases, no doubt, wages and royalties combined are small compared with the profits of the capitalist; but these are the exception rather than the rule."

Where is the proof that these are the exception rather than the rule? Besides when the people of the country are naturally entitled to both wages and royalties, and the profits of the capitalist, it is no consolation to be assured that they receive only wages and royalties. Royalties, moreover, are received by the Government of the country, which is not at all identical with the people of the country. However, we should be thankful for the admissions the *Statesman* has made, and not expect it to identify itself thoroughly with the popular view of the question.

We have now understood and described the magnitude of the evil. Is there no remedy? There is.

In both Japan and China under the new awakening, this undesirable side of foreign industrial exploitation in this matter of mining industry is well borne in mind, and the laws provide statutory safeguards and limitations in favour of the national interest. In Japan "prior to 1900, Japanese subjects only were allowed to undertake mining industry or become the partners or shareholders of a mining company; but according to the amendment introduced in the same year, any Japanese subject or any company organised in accordance with the Japanese commercial code may undertake mining industry in Japan, so that foreigners may now take part in the mining industry in Japan as partners or shareholders of a mining company." (Financial and Economical Annual of Japan, No. III, issued by the Department of Finance, Tokio, 1903, p. 48).

It may be presumed that the Japanese Government introduced the amendment only when the people of Japan had made so much progress in exploiting and in the ability to exploit the mineral resources of their country that there was no longer any danger of foreign enterprise in the field swamping indigenous enterprise. And the amendment empowers foreigners only to become partners or shareholders, not to become proprietors or holders of all the shares of a mining company.

Similarly in China, "The control of mining operations is now in the hands of the Board of Commerce which has made new regulations respecting the constitution of mining and other companies. Of the capital of any Chinese company not more than 50 per cent may be foreign and every foreign company must reserve at least 30 per cent. of its share capital to be taken up by Chinese." *Statesman's Year Book*, 1905, p. 529).

The laws of our country also ought to provide statutory safeguards and limitations in favour of the national interest, similar to those existing in Japan and China. The reasonableness of such statutory restrictions is beyond dispute.

But here alike in the British Provinces and in the Native States this higher economic point of view is more or less put aside, and our mines are freely made over on lease to foreign Syndicates for exploitation. Our very rights of property in them are denied, and they are treated as though they were the mines in "No-Man's-Land."All the same, however, it is permissible to hold the view that it would have been better for us and the country if instead of calling in the aid of foreign Syndicates in the matter, the State in India had thought fit to own and work these mines itself as it owns and works [some of] the Railways and the Warora coal mines. Similarly, referring to the agreement recently arrived at with the concurrence of the Government of India between the Mysore Durbar and the Kolar Gold Mining Companies for an extension of their existing leases when they severally terminate for 30 years on condition of the payment of royalty as at present, viz., 5 per cent on the gross output and 2½ per cent on dividends as and when declared, it would seem that the Durbar would have done better if it had decided to take over these mines itself on the determination of the existing concessions and made them over for working to some Mysorean Syndicate, or failing such Syndicate, retained them under its own administration, and run them as State concerns. In this connection it is worth noting that while the Mysore Durbar takes only 2½ per cent as its share of the dividends, the Government of India in their concessions to the Ruby Mines Company in Burma claim 30 per cent of the profits of the concern as the State share. So, again, it is not easy to understand the considerations which have led the Government of the Nizam to grant large mining concessions in the Hyderabad territories to a foreign Syndicate in preference to Messrs. Tata and Company.

Whatever may be the case in the British-governed parts of our country, and whatever may have been the case in the past in the parts under indigenous governments, at present and in future the rulers of the latter ought to be able to see what is to their interest and the interest of their subjects, and to do all that is necessary to safeguard their interests. For doing so effectively, they ought to be able to resist all outside pressure.

We are in hearty agreement with Mr. Joshi when he says :

"The main point of the argument is that this mining industry preeminently represents a field of effort which belongs to us and to no one else, and that we ourselves should work and develop our mines as best we can with our own exertions, as far as possible, and with such aid from the State in case of need as we may legitimately claim. In this as in other branches of industrial work it is well to bear

in mind that there is no instance in history of one nation undertaking and carrying out with success the development of the industrial resources of another by such methods of direct exploitation. In the case of the colonies and settlements, the work there has been in supersession and exclusion of the wild aboriginal populations. And, all things considered, it is clear that self-help is for us the only safe rule of action. The field is vast and varied,—only touched on the fringe.

Surely it is unreasonable to expect the outsiders to work it for us ; nor—judging from close on a century's experience—does it seem likely that English enterprise would render to us the measure of assistance we need for the purpose, and even supposing that it would, it is open to grave doubt whether we should avail ourselves of such assistance and entrust to other hands the work which it is our national duty as it is our national interest that we should do for ourselves. The hard economic situation in India imperatively demands of us such an effort, and requires that we should put our hands to the plough and till the field which is ours by right of birth. And it would be little short of a dereliction of duty on our part if we should blindly persist in our present strange unconcern and aloofness, and passively look on while it was being exploited by foreign agencies.

Lord Ronaldshay on the Industrial Incapacity of Indians.

In the course of the interesting lecture which Lord Ronaldshay delivered in the Indian Museum on the effect of the war in developing industries in Bengal, he said :—

The power factory is an exotic on Indian soil. The people themselves have taken little interest in its development. The organisation of industries on modern lines—Industries, that is to say, which require a huge array of machinery driven by mechanical power, steam, hydraulic or electric, and necessitate the aggregation of vast numbers of human beings to perform for a fixed wage so much of the operation as cannot be performed by the machinery itself—is something which is altogether alien to their genius.

The speaker has been rather hasty in his conclusion. In Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, and elsewhere, there are very big power factories owned and managed by Indians, showing that the exotic has taken root in the soil, and that the organisation of industries on modern lines is not alien to the genius of the people of India. What does his lordship think of Messrs. Tata's Works at Sakchi ?

But probably he was thinking more specially of Bengal. It must be admitted that our province has been very backward in industries. But even here there are power factories owned and managed by our countrymen, and successful ones too, though they are not big concerns. However, to prove that a thing is alien to the genius of a people, it is necessary to show the entire absence of the thing in their midst. If the thing exists on a small scale,

it can be made big. If a factory employs hundreds of workmen, it is not extremely difficult or impossible for it so to develop as to employ thousands.

And it was not so very long ago that industries on their present scale and organised according to modern methods did not exist in England. That did not prove that they were alien to the genius of the British people, nor did it prevent them from growing and taking root on British soil.

Mr. C. F. Andrews and the Fiji Legislative Council.

The Honourable Mr. Marks brought forward before the Fiji Legislative Council the following Resolution :—

"That this council regrets and disagrees with the reports concerning the condition of Indians being circulated in Australia by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, which reports this council considers highly coloured, misleading and in part untrue."

The proposer referred to the "wild statements" made by Mr. C. F. Andrews and said that many of them which had been published in the Australian papers were 'scurrilous, grossly exaggerated, misleading and mainly untrue.' Mr. Marks ended his speech as follows :—

"I have no doubt that Your Excellency has conveyed to the proper quarter the wicked and uncalculated statements that have been made by Mr. C. F. Andrews, but I feel that it is necessary that we in this council should disagree entirely with these statements."

Mr. Horricks, a Planter, seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

It is the old trick, "No case. Abuse the plaintiff's attorney." Mr. Andrews is very careful in making enquiries and ascertaining facts. In stating the facts about the Fiji plantations, he has always displayed extreme anxiety to give the employers of the coolies as much praise as it is possible to give them without being guilty of untruthfulness. He has been very moderate in all his statements, and given his authority for them whenever it was possible to give them. Under the circumstances, we cannot but dismiss the Fiji council resolution as unworthy of serious consideration.

"Greater India."

By contributing to *The Commonwealth* a series of very interesting articles on Greater India, Professor Radhakumud Mookerjee of the Mysore University has

drawn attention to a rich mine for historians of Asiatic culture and civilisation to work. As our knowledge of the origins of Japanese, Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian, Annamite, Philippine and Javan civilisation, and of, in fact, the civilisation of the whole of Central and Eastern Asia and the Indian archipelago grows, the belief grows in strength that India has been to Asia what Greece has been to Europe. The proofs of Hindu influence in the various countries and islands of Asia have not all been unearthed yet. And what has been unearthed lies scattered in the pages of various English, French, German, American, Dutch, Italian, Russian and other antiquarian journals. It is not possible for the general reader to consult these sources of information. And probably the indologist does not exist who knows so many languages. If, therefore, several indologists collaborated to produce an accurate, authoritative, and popular work, acceptable to the general reader, on the place of India in Asiatic culture and civilisation, it would be a great service rendered to the cause of history. It would also promote the cause of international amity by placing before the world additional proofs of India's claim to respect. In the meantime, Professor Mookerjee would do well to prepare a handbook based on the materials which he has himself already collected.

The Calcutta Riots and the Muslim League.

We learn from the *Musalman* that at a general meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League held on the 14th September a resolution was adopted, asking the Council of the League to prepare a statement in regard to the recent Calcutta riots. After that the All-India Muslim League called for a statement from the Bengal League. Accordingly, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League prepared a statement and sent a copy of the same to the All-India Muslim League. The latter body held a special meeting of its Council on the 4th November to consider the statement and passed a resolution urging the Government of India to appoint a Commission of Enquiry and forwarding to that Government a copy of the statement prepared by the Bengal Muslim League. Such a commission should certainly be appointed, though Government has not

appointed one yet. In the meantime, quite rightly, a non-official commission composed of some leading European and Indian citizens, Christian, Musalman, Hindu and Jain, has been taking evidence to submit a report to the public.

In connection with the riots, the *Musalman* asks the following apposite questions :—

1. What was the immediate cause of the disturbances on the 9th September ?
2. Who first ordered the firing on the crowd ?
3. At which places—streets, roads,—the police and the military had orders to fire ?
4. Was there any general order to fire ? If not, who ordered the firing in each case ?
5. How many persons were shot by the Police and how many by the military ?
6. Did the police and the military take charge of all persons wounded or killed by them ? If not, why not ?
7. Was there any proper arrangement to remove all persons wounded by the police and the military to any hospital and also to remove all persons killed by them to the morgue ? If so, what were the arrangements ? If not, why not ?
8. Is the Government aware that no less than 8 or 9 persons were wounded inside the Nakhoda Mosque and marks of firing are visible on the walls and panes and even on the iron gate of the Mosque ? Is the Government aware that there was absolutely no justification for firing into the Mosque ? Are those responsible for the sacrilege going to be punished ?
6. Has the Government taken any vigorous steps to ascertain the number of the wounded and the dead ? If not, will such steps be yet taken ?
10. Who ordered the firing at Garden Reach ? Was it by a First Class Magistrate ?
11. Were machine-guns used during the disturbances ? If so, were not rifles considered sufficient to deal with the situation ?
12. If machine-guns were used, how many were killed and wounded with machine-guns and how many with rifles ?

Women in Parliament.

In the House of Lords the Bill enabling women to sit in Parliament has been finally passed. But in order to show that the lords have not entirely lost their conservative instincts they rejected by 33 votes to 14 Lord Haldane's amendment permitting peeresses to sit in the House of Lords in their own right.

Indian Women's Rights.

A resolution has been carried in the Bombay council in favour of making women eligible to become members of the Bombay municipal corporation.

At the last meeting of the executive committee of the Ladies' Home Rule League, Ahmedabad, the following resolutions, proposed by Behen Ansuyabai Sarabhai, were adopted :—The executive com-

mittee of the Ladies' Home Rule League, Ahmedabad, resolves that a deputation should be sent to England to secure for the women of India the same rights with the men of India in the coming reforms, and that the committee should immediately put itself in correspondence with Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Naidu on the subject.

(2) That the Bombay Government should be requested to undertake legislation to amend the Bombay and District Municipal Acts, as also the Bombay Local Boards Act so as to remove the disqualifications imposed on women of the presidency by these enactments.

Crop Reports.

Crop reports from the different provinces of India make the outlook appear very gloomy indeed.

Reports for the week ending November 23rd about the prospects of the crops show that the agricultural conditions throughout India continue to be gloomy. The week was dry and rainless with the exception of light rainfall in Burma where ripening showers were needed in several districts. Cattle disease was reported from three districts in the United Provinces. No rain fell during the week and the autumn crops had been generally damaged by drought. Fodder was dear and getting scarce in many districts. Water and market supplies were deficient with prices having a tendency to rise. The weather was dry in the Punjab. Rain was badly needed everywhere. The standing autumn crops generally were average on irrigated and poor on unirrigated areas.

Rain was much needed in the Frontier Province and the prospects of the standing crops were below average in unirrigated areas in Peshawar, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

Reports from Rajputana state that the week was rainless. The harvesting of crops in irrigated areas was proceeding in certain places, but the crops in unirrigated areas were withering. The prospects were poor. The sowing of spring crops is restricted. Cattle disease prevails in certain places.

The only province where beneficial rain fell is Bombay, but there the autumn crops were withering in many places. The fodder supply was generally deficient, but pasture had been improved. A Famine Fodder

Controller has been appointed and fodder is being supplied to all affected districts.

In most districts of Bengal, the rice crop has been damaged or is withering for want of rain. In several districts, rice, pulse and other articles are selling at much higher prices than at famine times. Throughout the Madras Presidency the people are suffering from worse than famine prices. *The Fort St. George Gazette* states that the average price of rice in the city of Madras for the week ending 9th of November was 3.9 seers per rupee. The Government of India has appointed a Food controller not a day too soon.

The Times of London has suggested that Asia should be forced to wear old clothes in order that Europe may not starve. But India, a part of Asia, has already been starving, and millions have not got even old clothes to wear.

Mr. Tilak free to Speak and Write.

A cable from Mr. Baptista says the restrictions laid by the Government upon Mr. Tilak in respect of public speaking and political work are cancelled by the Home Government.

Good news.

Wisdom from the Premier's Lips.

In course of the speech which he delivered at a meeting of 200 leading coalitionists the Premier said that "there was value in the prevailing revolutionary spirit if it was wisely directed. It must be combated by national unity, co-operation and sacrifice. He feared neither revolution, nor Bolshevism, but reaction and dissension. Mere party considerations were unseemly." Let both our people and Government learn wisdom from these words.

Ideals of America and Britain.

The British Prime Minister has telegraphed to President Wilson:—"Heartiest thanks for your cordial and kindly message. I am certain that the ideals of our two countries regarding international reconstruction are fundamentally the same, and I feel sure that at the peace conference we shall be able to co-operate to promote peace, liberty and true democracy all the world over." फलन परिचयते ।

British Statesmen's Messages.

The message from the Prime Minister which Sir S. P. Sinha brought to the

princes and people of this country contains the following promise, besides a proper recognition and the part which she has played in the war :

She may rest assured that the declaration of August 20th will be carried into practical effect. The scheme of Reform prepared by the Secretary of State and yourself is under consideration. As soon as conditions make it possible we shall submit our proposals to Parliament.

Mr. Lloyd George's and Mr. Bonar Law's joint manifesto contains the following reference to this country :

"The people of this country are not unmindful of the conspicuous services rendered by the princes and people of India to the common cause of civilisation during the war. The Cabinet has already defined in unmistakable language the goal of British policy in India to be the development of responsible government by gradual stages. To the general terms of that declaration we adhere and propose to give effect."

Indians in British East Africa.

Mr. Abdulrasul Allidina Visram, President of the British East Africa Indian Association at Mombasa, has sent the following telegram to the British Committee of the Congress :

British East Africa Government are proposing to sell 21 residential plots at Mombasa by auction on the 2nd proximo. One of the conditions of sale is that Indians are ineligible to acquire same. Another condition of sale is that no Indian can live on the said places, except in the capacity of a servant. Great indignation has been aroused among the entire Indian community at these attempts to deprive them of the elementary rights of citizenship and to give undue artificial advantages to one section of His Majesty's subjects. We have cabled to the Secretary of State through the Governor requesting him to instruct the Local Government to act squarely and delete the said objectionable conditions in the proposed sale. Kindly approach the authorities there and inform them that the community is seething with discontent. A mass meeting has protested, and serious agitation is bound to follow. They believe this is but the forerunner of several attempts to impose racial disability, and unless it be nipped in the bud this policy can only end in whole streets, towns, nay, even the very use of the elements being reserved for Europeans. Recently certain houses here belonging to enemy aliens were auctioned by the official liquidator. There also Indians were forbidden to bid for one central building, despite the fact that Indians already hold the adjacent properties. There is here an increasing tendency to divide humanity into Europeans and non-Europeans instead of into British and non-British in the interests of the Empire. There are no indentured coolies here as in South Africa, but only Indians of the middle classes, including educated Indians. They are mostly merchants, lawyers, doctors, subordinate officials, clerks, etc., who are conscious of their rights of British citizenship and mean retaining them. Our connection with East Africa dates back to a time when neither India nor this country was British: yet they seek to deprive

us of rights and privileges granted even to foreigners. We hope that better counsels will prevail and that we shall be saved the necessity of unpleasant agitation.

One would fain not take the state of things in *British East Africa* as a sample of the "peace, liberty and true democracy" which Britain and America fought in company to promote all the world over.

Wanted freedom to "nationalise" oneself.

Separate representation and communal electorates have been claimed by and for some sections of the people on the ground that otherwise they would not be properly represented. But there may be, as we know there are, men among these sections who think that they can safely trust any properly qualified and rightly elected member of any community to protect the interests of all communities. If such men wish to belong to the general electorate instead of a communal electorate, surely they ought to have the liberty to thus "nationalize" themselves. The Moderates' Conference, held recently in Bombay, has been the first public body to make a good suggestion to this effect. It has enunciated the principle that although a community may have a special electorate of its own, it should be open to any individual belonging to it to enrol himself in the general electorate if he chooses to do so. Should the Government accept this very sound and truly democratic principle, as it ought to, it would provide a means of communal electorates being gradually got rid of. For, if in the course of gradual "nationalisation" of a community it were at any time found that a large majority of its members had transferred themselves to the general electorate, Government might safely do away with the particular communal electorate. Communal electorates are temporary expedients; but once they are sanctioned, it is very difficult to get out of them. A suggestion which offers a means of escape, as the present one does, ought surely to be accepted.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar on Revolutionary Crime.

In the course of a speech made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the seceders' gathering in Bombay, he is reported to have said, "If the Rowlatt report were going to be used against the Reforms, he

would say that he had come to the conclusion that revolutionary crime in India, especially in Bengal, was prevalent because repressive laws had come first and reforms afterwards." He added that "His conviction had deepened that the only effective way to prevent revolutionary crime was the experiment of a liberal measure of administration of the Montagu scheme."

All this is good; but the pity is that these observations of his would not have as great a circulation among the British and Anglo-Indian opponents of the Reforms, as the fact that he and Mr. Justice Beachcroft have jointly praised and supported the Rowlatt report. These opponents of reform have also drawn corollaries, hostile to our interests, from this praise and support.

Amnesty for Political Prisoners.

As the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are meant to start the nation on a new path, their inauguration should in fact be a greater occasion for rejoicing than the accession of a new king;—"greater", because whilst a new king's reign may be good or bad, the authors of these reforms expect that they would mean a new political birth for the country, marking the dawn of a new era. As a coronation sees many prisoners free, so should the inauguration of the reforms see the liberation of all prisoners who were deprived of their liberty for crimes of a purely political character. By political prisoners we mean detenus, state prisoners, and prisoners incarcerated or transported for political offences after regular trial. And we mention political prisoners specially, because in all probability they would not have been in jail, if say, a decade ago, the country had enjoyed the freedom which the reforms are meant to bestow on it, and also because they would not in all probability, under the future changed condition of the country, do anything which would again bring them within the clutches of the law. For revolutionaries and other political prisoners do not break the law for the fun of the thing. They do certain things, however foolishly or wrongly, only to obtain freedom for the country. If freedom be achieved already, or can be obtained by the means laid down in the Re-

form scheme, why should they run any risk again?

A general amnesty may also make the relations between the races more cordial, inspire greater trust in the intentions of the rulers, produce greater co-operation, and altogether give the scheme a better start.

War aims and the fate of the German Colonies.

General Smuts has put forward the claim that the German Colonies should be given to the British Colonies which have conquered them. *New India's* comments on this claim are so righteous, that we transcribe some of them in this note.

Is the Empire, or any part of it to profit by the War by taking over the conquered lands? Would it not be more consonant with the high aims of the Allies to carry out the premier's proposal, and let the Africans determine their own Government? German brutalities render the recession impossible, but to rule them, save by an International Commission, would not be right, and even that is wrong unless they ask for it. Why should they be forced into a civilisation that is not theirs?

What should India do?

It is natural that General Smuts, a brave and successful soldier, should not answer to the appeal of an idealist like president Wilson, who looks on mankind not as consisting of friends and of enemies, but of brothers. But surely India, *par excellence* the spiritual Nation of the world, need not join in the ignoble grasping at the lands of others, and the turning of the natives of those lands into serfs to the "civilised". If for no other reason than her own sufferings, she should refuse to enslave others for her own profit.

Should the German colonies be given to South Africa?

We know how badly the white South Africans have treated the African Kaffirs and the Indian settlers; the Dutch treated them worse, and the Germans have treated those who fell into their power infinitely worse. But is that any reason why the British Empire should seek extension of territory, after loudly declaring that she entered the War for wholly unselfish purposes, and sought no gains for herself? Not long ago, the Premier proclaimed that the German Colonies should enjoy Self-Determination. Is this pledge to be broken? Even if it should be, ought India to be a party in the division of the spoils of victory? Is the War of Liberation to become a

War of Appropriation? Are the War Aims to be Germanised in the moment of Germany's defeat?

That the German Colonies should be freed is well. That they should find that the promised freedom merely meant that they pass from one white yoke to another would be very ill. If South Africa is made the master, the coloured races will not be allowed to walk on side paths, nor to enter trams, nor passenger compartments in trains in which white men are travelling: their land in the Africa cases, having been forcibly taken from them, they will not be allowed to own fractions of it; they will be subjected to constant insults, will be flogged, will be forced to do the lowest work. Are the coloured races to have no place on the earth except as the subjects of the white? Is no country to be free from the burden of the white man? Is there to be no spot in the world in which the coloured man may take refuge, and feel himself among equals?

The plea of "civilising natives" is preposterous, if the natives object to white civilisation, as they well may after seeing its culmination in the War just over.

The Cessation of Hostilities.

All lovers of humanity will rejoice at the cessation of hostilities. The worst evils of the war have been the diabolical and cowardly outrages to which millions of women have been subjected in Poland and other invaded territories over which soldiers have marched and counter-marched. These have ceased, though their effects, alas! will continue to make countless women miserable for life. Bloodshed has almost ceased. Children and women and adults may have to suffer the pangs of hunger and cold for some time longer yet.

Whether the "world" beliberated or not, Belgium is free, Poland is free, Serbia is free, France has got back Alsace and Lorraine, and Italy the regions usurped by Austria. That surely is matter for rejoicing. And even the German States and Austria-Hungary ought to feel that the war has been of some use to them, as instead of being subject to the will of autocrats and military oligarchies, the people of those countries will themselves be the masters of their fate.

All honour to the men who fought for their own and others' liberty, but not for gain.

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